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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

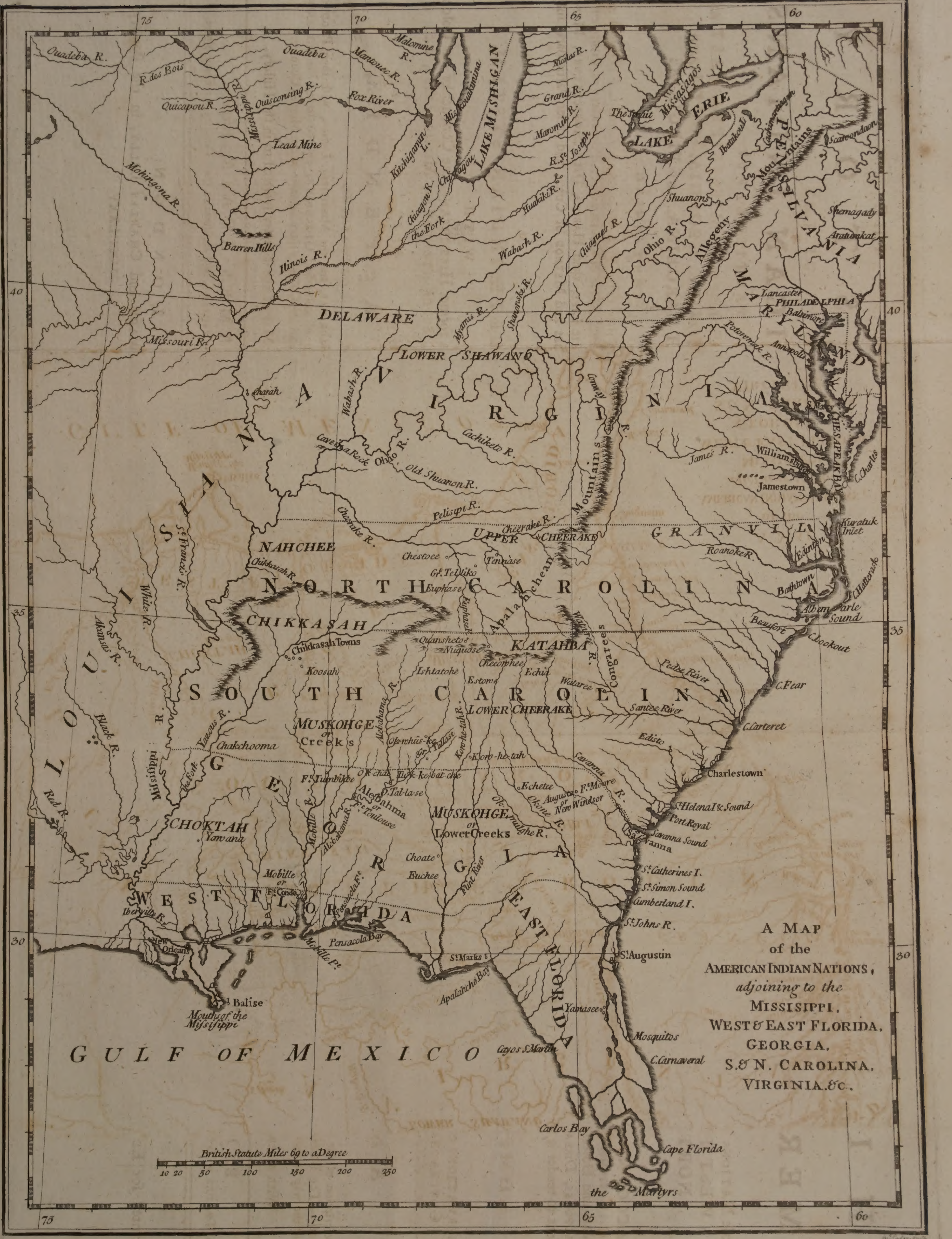
AMERICAN INDIANS.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN INDIANS.



A MAP
of the
AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS,
adjoining to the
MISSISIPPI,
WEST & EAST FLORIDA,
GEORGIA,
S. & N. CAROLINA,
VIRGINIA, &c.

75
70
65
60
40
35
30
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree
10 20 50 100 150 200 250
Ouadeba R.
Ouadeba
R. des Bois
Malomine R.
Manoues R.
Quicapou R.
Quisconsing R.
Missisippi R.
Fox River
Lead Mine
Mohingona R.
Barren Hills
Ilinois R.
Missouri R.
Kitchigamin L.
Chicagou R.
the Fork
Mis Kouakimina
LAKE MISHIGAN
Nicolas R.
Grand R.
Maromik R.
R. St. Joseph
Huakiki R.
Wabash R.
Chiagues R.
The Sault
Missasagos
LAKE ERIE
Ibadiouli
Cahiownagan
Mountains
Saiorondaou
Shemagady
Aratumkat
Shuanons
Ohio R.
Allegeny
PENSILVANIA
MARYLAND
Lancaster
PHILADELPHIA
Baltimore
Annapolis
Potowmak R.
DELAWARE
LOWER SHAWANO
Myamis R.
Shawanoes R.
Conoway
VIRGINIA
Cachiketo R.
Cave in a Rock
Ohio R.
Old Shuanon R.
Pelisipi R.
Cheerake R.
UPPER CHEERAKE
Mountains
James R.
Williamsburg
Jamestown
CHESAPEAK BAY
C. Charles
Kuratuk Inlet
Edinton
GRANVIL
Roanoke R.
Bathtown
C. Hatterask
Albemarle Sound
Beaufort
C. Lookout
C. Fear
LOUISIANA
Charah
St. Francis R.
White R.
Akansas R.
Black R.
Red R.
Missisippi R.
NAHCHEE
Chikkasah R.
NORTH CAROLINA
Chestoee
Tennase
Gr. Telliko
Euphase
Euphase R.
Apalachean
CHIKKASAH
Chikkasah Towns
Koosah
Quanshetos
Niquose
KATAHBA
Keeowhee
Echia
Estotoe
Ishtatohe
Wataree R.
Congarees
Pedee River
Wataree
Santee River
SOUTH CAROLINA
LOWER CHEERAKE
C. Carteret
Edisto
Charlestown
Yazous R.
Chakchooma
MUSKOHGE or Creeks
Alebahama R.
Ofewhus-ke
or Tallase
Kowhe-tah R.
Koro-he-tah
Savanna R.
Echetee
Augusta
F. Moore
or New Windsor
St. Helena I. & Sound
Port Royal
Savanna Sound
Savanna
GEORGIA
the Fork
F. Tumbikbe
Ok-chai
Tukke-ke-bat-che
O. Tal-la-se
Alebahma
or F. Toulouse
Alebahama R.
MUSKOHGE or Lower Creeks
Ok-mulghe R.
Okone R.
Mobille R.
CHOKTAH
Yowana
Choate
Buchee
Flint River
Mobille or F. Conde
St. Catherines I.
St. Simon Sound
Cumberland I.
St. Johns R.
WEST FLORIDA
Iberville R.
New Orleans
Balise
Mouths of the Missisippi
Pensacola F.
Pensacola Bay
Mobille Pt.
St. Marks
Apalachee Bay
EAST FLORIDA
St. Augustin
Yamasee
Mosquitos
C. Carnaveral
GULF OF MEXICO
Cayos S. Martin
Carlos Bay
Cape Florida
the Martyrs

Jn.o Lodge sculp.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN INDIANS;

PARTICULARLY
Thoſe NATIONS adjoining to the MISSISIPPI, EAST AND
WEST FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH AND
NORTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA:

CONTAINING
An ACCOUNT of their ORIGIN, LANGUAGE, MANNERS, RELIGIOUS and CIVIL CUSTOMS, LAWS, FORM of GOVERNMENT, PUNISHMENTS, CONDUCT in WAR and DOMESTIC LIFE, their HABITS, DIET, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, DISEASES and METHOD of CURE, and other Particulars, ſufficient to render it

A
COMPLETE INDIAN SYSTEM.

WITH
OBSERVATIONS on former HISTORIANS, the Conduct of our Colony GOVERNORS, SUPERINTENDENTS, MISSIONARIES, &c.

ALSO
AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
A Deſcription of the FLORIDAS, and the MISSISIPPI LANDS, with their PRODUCTIONS—The Benefits of coloniſing GEORGIANA, and civilizing the INDIANS—And the way to make all the Colonies more valuable to the Mother Country.

With a new MAP of the Country referred to in the Hiſtory.

By JAMES ADAIR, Eſquire,
A TRADER with the INDIANS, and Reſident in their Country for Forty Years.

LONDON:
Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY, in the Poultry.
MDCCLXXV.

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TO

The Hon. Colonel GEORGE CRAGHAN,

George Galphin, *and* Lachlan M'Gilwray,

ESQUIRES.*

GENTLEMEN,

TO you, with the greateſt propriety the following ſheets are addreſſed. Your diſtinguiſhed abilities—your thorough acquaintance with the North American Indians language, rites, and cuſtoms—your long application and ſervices in the dangerous ſphere of an Indian life, and your ſucceſsful management of the ſavage natives, are well known over all the continent of America.

You often complained how the public had been impoſed upon, either by fictitious and fabulous, or very ſuperficial and conjectural accounts of the Indian nations—and as often wiſhed me to devote my leiſure hours to the drawing up an Indian ſyſtem. You can witneſs, that what I now ſend into the world, was compoſed more from a regard to your requeſt, than any forward deſire of my own, The proſpect of your patronage inſpired me to write, and it is no ſmall pleaſure and honour to me, that ſuch competent judges of the ſeveral particulars now preſented to public view, expreſſed themſelves with ſo much approbation of the contents.

---

* The late Sir Wm. Johnſon, Baronet, was another of the Author's friends, and ſtood at the head of the MS. Dedication.

You well know the uprightneſs of my intentions as to the information here given, and that truth hath been my grand ſtandard. I may have erred in the application of the rites and cuſtoms of the Indians to their origin and deſcent—and may have drawn ſome concluſions, exceeding the given evidence—but candor will excuſe the language of integrity: and when the genuine principles, cuſtoms, &c. of the Indians are known, it will be eaſier afterwards for perſons of ſolid learning, and free from ſecular cares, to trace their origin, clear up the remaining difficulties, and produce a more perfect hiſtory.

Should my performance be in the leaſt degree inſtrumental to promote an accurate inveſtigation and knowledge of the American Indians — their civilization — and the happy ſettlement of the fertile lands around them, I ſhall rejoice; and the public will be greatly obliged to you, as your requeſt incited to it; and to you I am alſo indebted for many intereſting particulars, and valuable obſervations.

I embrace this opportunity, of paying a public teſtimony of my gratitude, for your many favours to me. Permit me alſo to celebrate your public ſpirit — your zealous and faithful ſervice of your country — your ſocial and domeſtic virtues, &c. which have endeared you to all your acquaintance, and to all who have heard your names, and make you more illuſtrious, than can any high ſounding titles. All who know you, will readily acquit me of ſervility and flattery, in this addreſs. Dedications founded on theſe motives, are the diſgrace of literature, and an inſult to common ſenſe. There are too many inſtances of this proſtitution in Great Britain, for it to be ſuffered in America. Numbers of high ſeated patrons are praiſed for their divine wiſdom and godlike virtues, and yet the whole empire is diſcontented, and America in ſtrong convulſions.

May you long enjoy your uſual calm and proſperity! that ſo the widow, the fatherleſs, and the ſtranger may always joyfully return (as in paſt years) from your hoſpitable houſes—while this Dedication ſtands as a ſmall proof of that ſincere attachment with which I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES ADAIR.

PREFACE.

THE following hiſtory, and obſervations, are the production of one who hath been chiefly engaged in an Indian life ever ſince the year 1735: and moſt of the pages were written among our old friendly Chikkaſah, with whom I firſt traded in the year 1744. The ſubjects are intereſting, as well as amuſing; but never was a literary work begun and carried on with more diſadvantages. The author was ſeparated by his ſituation, from the converſation of the learned, and from any libraries — Frequently interrupted alſo by buſineſs, and obliged to conceal his papers, through the natural jealouſy of the natives; the traders letters of correſpondence always excited their ſuſpicions, and often gave offence.—Another difficulty I had to encounter, was the ſecrecy and cloſeneſs of the Indians as to their own affairs, and their prying diſpoſition into thoſe of others—ſo that there is no poſſibility of retirement among them.

A view of the diſadvantages of my ſituation, made me reluctant to comply with the earneſt and repeated ſolicitations of many worthy friends, to give the public an account of the Indian nations with whom I had long reſided, was ſo intimately connected, and of whom ſcarcely any thing had yet been publiſhed but romance, and a maſs of fiction. My friends at laſt prevailed, and on peruſing the ſheets, they were pleaſed to approve the contents, as conveying true information, and general entertainment. Having no ambition to appear in the world as an author, and knowing that my hiſtory differed eſſentially from all former publications of the kind, I firſt reſolved to ſuppreſs my name; but my friends adviſed me to own the work, and thus it is tendered to the public in the preſent form.

The

P R E F A C E.

The performance, hath doubtleſs imperfections, *humanum eſt errare.* Some readers may think, there is too much of what relates to myſelf, and of the adventures of ſmall parties among the Indians and traders. But minute circumſtances are often of great conſequence, eſpecially in diſcovering the deſcent and genius of a people—deſcribing their manners and cuſtoms—and giving proper information to rulers at a diſtance. I thought it better to be eſteemed prolix, than to omit any thing that might be uſeful on theſe points. Some repetitions, which occur, were neceſſary—The hiſtory of the ſeveral Indian nations being ſo much intermixed with each other, and their cuſtoms ſo nearly alike.

One great advantage my readers will here have; I ſat down to draw the Indians on the ſpot—had them many years ſtanding before me,—and lived with them as a friend and brother. My intentions were pure when I wrote, truth hath been my ſtandard, and I have no ſiniſter or mercenary views in publiſhing. With inexpreſſible concern I read the ſeveral imperfect and fabulous accounts of the Indians, already given to the world—Fiction and conjecture have no place in the following pages. The public may depend on the fidelity of the author, and that his deſcriptions are genuine, though perhaps not ſo poliſhed and romantic as other Indian hiſtories and accounts, they may have ſeen.

My grand objects, were to give the Literati proper and good materials for tracing the origin of the American Indians—and to incite the higher powers zealouſly to promote the beſt intereſts of the Britiſh colonies, and of the mother country. For whoſe greatneſs and happineſs, I have the moſt ardent deſires.

The whole of the work is reſpectully ſubmitted to the candor and judgment of the impartial Public.

C O N T E N T S.

A Hiſtory of the North American Indians, their cuſtoms, &c. Obſervations on their colour, ſhape, temper, and dreſs. Page 1

Obſervations on the origin and deſcent of the Indians — p. 10

Obſervations, and arguments, in proof of the American Indians being deſcended from the Jews.

Argument I. *Their diviſion into tribes* — — p. 15
II. *Their worſhip of Jehovah* — — p. 18
III. *Their notions of a theocracy* — — p. 32
IV. *Their belief in the miniſtration of angels* — p. 35
V. *Their language and dialects* — — p. 37
VI. *Their manner of counting time* — — p. 74
VII. *Their prophets and high prieſts* — p. 80
VIII. *Their feſtivals, faſts, and religious rites* — p. 94
IX. *Their daily ſacrifice* — — p. 115
X. *Their ablutions and anointings* — — p. 120
XI. *Their laws of uncleanneſs* — — p. 123
XII. *Their abſtinence from unclean things* — — p. 130
XIII. *Their marriages, divorces, and puniſhment of adultery* p. 138
XIV. *Their ſeveral puniſhments* — — p. 146
XV. *Their cities of refuge* — — p. 158
XVI. *Their purifications, and ceremonies preparatory to war* p. 159
XVII. *Their ornaments* — — p. 169
XVIII. *Their manner of curing the ſick* — — p. 172
XIX. *Their burial of the dead* — — p. 177
XX. *Their mourning for their dead* — — p. 186
XXI. *Their raiſing ſeed to a deceaſed brother* — p. 189
XXII. *Their choice of names adapted to their circumſtances and the times* — — — p. 191
XXIII. *Their own traditions, the accounts of our Engliſh writers, and the teſtimonies which the Spaniſh and other authors have given, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.* p. 194

C O N T E N T S.

An Account of the Katahba, Cheerake, Muſkoghe or Creeks, Choktah, and Chikkaſah Nations: with occaſional remarks on their Laws, and the Conduct of our Governors, Superintendents, Miſſionaries, &c.

Account of the Katahba Nation, &c. — — p. 223
Account of the Cheerake Nation, &c. — — p. 226
Account of the Muſkohge Nation, &c. — — p. 257
Account of the Choktah Nation, &c. — — p. 282
Account of the Chikkaſah Nation, &c. — — p. 352
General Obſervations on the North-American Indians; diſplaying their Love to their Country—Their Martial Spirit—Their Caution in War—Method of Fighting—Barbarity to their Captives—Inſtances of their Fortitude and Magnanimity in the view of Death — Their Reward of public Services — The manner of Crowning their Warriors after Victory—Their Games—Method of Fiſhing, and of Building—Their Utenſils and Manufactures—Conduct in Domeſtic Life—Their Laws, Form of Government, &c. &c. p. 375

A P P E N D I X.

Containing a Deſcription of the Floridas, and the Miſſiſippi Lands, with their Productions—The Benefits of coloniſing Georgiana, and civilizing the Indians—And the way to make all the Colonies more valuable to the Mother Country. p. 451

A
HISTORY
OF THE
NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS,
THEIR CUSTOMS, &c.

Obſervations on the colour, ſhape, temper, and dreſs of the Indians of America.

THE Indians are of a copper or red-clay colour—and they delight in every thing, which they imagine may promote and increaſe it: accordingly, they paint their faces with vermilion, as the beſt and moſt beautiful ingredient. If we conſider the common laws of nature and providence, we ſhall not be ſurprized at this cuſtom; for every thing loves beſt its own likeneſs and place in the creation, and is diſpoſed to ridicule its oppoſite. If a deformed ſon of burning Africa, was to paint the devil, he would not do it in black colours, nor delineate him with a ſhagged coarſe woolly head, nor with thick lips, a ſhort flat noſe, or clumſy feet, like thoſe of a bear: his devil would repreſent one of a different nation or people. But was he to draw an agreeable picture,—according to the African taſte, he would daub it all over with ſooty black. All the Indians are ſo ſtrongly attached to, and prejudiced in favour of, their own colour, that they think as meanly of the whites, as we poſſibly can do of them. The Engliſh traders among them, experience much of it, and are often very glad to be allowed to paſs muſter with the Indian chieftains, as fellow-brethren of the human ſpecies. One inſtance will ſufficiently ſhew in what flattering glaſſes they view themſelves.

Some time paſt, a large body of the Engliſh Indian traders, on their way to the *Choktah* country, were eſcorted by a body of Creek and Choktah warriors. The Creeks having a particular friendſhip for ſome of the traders, who had treated them pretty liberally, took this opportunity to chide the Choktahs, before the traders, in a ſmart though friendly way, for not allowing to the Engliſh the name of human creatures:—for the general name they give us in their moſt favourable *war-ſpeeches*, reſembles that of a contemptible, heterogeneous animal.

The hotter, or colder the climate is, where the Indians have long reſided, the greater proportion have they either of the red, or white, colour. I took particular notice of the Shawano Indians, as they were paſſing from the northward, within fifty miles of the Chikkaſah country, to that of the Creeks; and, by comparing them with the Indians which I accompanied to their camp, I obſerved the Shawano to be much fairer than the Chikkaſah *; though I am ſatisfied, their endeavours to cultivate the copper colour, were alike. Many incidents and obſervations lead me to believe, that the Indian colour is not natural; but that the external difference between them and the whites, proceeds entirely from their cuſtoms and method of living, and not from any inherent ſpring of nature; which will entirely overturn Lord Kames's whole ſyſtem of colour, and ſeparate races of men.

That the Indian colour is merely accidental, or artificial, appears pretty evident. Their own traditions record them to have come to their preſent lands by the way of the weſt, from a far diſtant country, and where there was no variegation of colour in human beings; and they are entirely ignorant which was the firſt or primitive colour. Beſides, their rites, cuſtoms, &c. as we ſhall preſently ſee, prove them to be orientaliſts: and, as the difference of colour among the human ſpecies, is one of the principal cauſes of ſeparation, ſtrife, and bloodſhed, would it not greatly reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of the Divine Being, ignominiouſly to brand numerous tribes and their poſterity, with a colour odious and hateful in the ſight and opinion of thoſe of a different colour. Some writers have contended, from the diverſity of colour, that America was not peopled from any part of Aſia, or of the old world, but that the natives were a ſeparate creation. Of this opinion, is Lord Kames, and which he labours to eſtabliſh in his late publication, entitled, *Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man.* But his reaſoning on this point, for a local creation, is contrary both to revelation, and facts. His chief argument, that "there is not a ſingle hair on the body of any American, nor the leaſt appearance of a beard," is utterly deſtitute of foundation, as can be atteſted by all who have had any communication with them—of this more preſently.—Moreover, to form one creation of *whites*, a ſecond creation for the *yellows*, and a third for the *blacks*, is a weakneſs, of which infinite wiſdom is incapable. Its operations are plain, eaſy, conſtant, and perfect. The variegation therefore of colours among the human race, depends upon a ſecond cauſe. Lord Kames himſelf acknowledges, that "the Spaniſh inhabitants of Carthagena in South-America loſe their vigour and colour in a few months."

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* S is not a note of plurality with the Indians; when I mention therefore either their national, or proper names, that common error is avoided, which writers ignorant of their language conſtantly commit.

We are informed by the anatomical obſervations of our American phyſicians, concerning the Indians, that they have diſcerned a certain fine cowl, or web, of a red gluey ſubſtance, cloſe under the outer ſkin, to which it reflects the colour; as the epidermis, or outer ſkin, is alike clear in every different creature. And experience, which is the beſt medium to diſcover truth, gives the true cauſe why this corpus mucoſum, or gluiſh web, is red in the Indians, and white in us; the parching winds, and hot ſun-beams, beating upon their naked bodies, in their various gradations of life, neceſſarily tarniſh their ſkins with the tawny red colour. Add to this, their conſtant anointing themſelves with bear's oil, or greaſe, mixt with a certain red root, which, by a peculiar property, is able alone, in a few years time, to produce the Indian colour in thoſe who are white born, and who have even advanced to maturity. Theſe metamorphoſes I have often ſeen.

At the Shawano main camp *, I ſaw a Penſylvanian, a white man by birth, and in profeſſion a chriſtian, who, by the inclemency of the ſun, and his endeavours of improving the red colour, was tarniſhed with as deep an Indian hue, as any of the camp, though they had been in the woods only the ſpace of four years.

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* In the year 1747, I headed a company of the cheerful, brave Chikkaſah, with the eagles tails, to the camp of the Shawano Indians, to apprehend one Peter Shartee, (a Frenchman) who, by his artful paintings, and the ſupine conduct of the Penſylvanian government, had decoyed a large body of the Shawano from the Engliſh, to the French, intereſt. But fearing the conſequences, he went round an hundred miles, toward the Cheerake nation, with his family, and the head warriors, and thereby evaded the danger.

We may eaſily conclude then, what a fixt change of colour, ſuch a conſtant method of life would produce: for the colour being once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, nature would, as it were, forget herſelf, not to beget her own likeneſs. Beſides, may we not ſuppoſe, that the imagination can impreſs the animalculæ, in the time of copulation, by its ſtrong ſubtile power, with at leaſt ſuch an external ſimilitude, as we ſpeak of?—The ſacred oracles, and chriſtian regiſters, as well as Indian traditions, ſupport the ſentiment;—the colour of Jacob's cattle reſembled that of the peeled rods he placed before them, in the time of conception. We have good authority of a Spaniſh lady, who conceived, and was delivered of a negro child, by means of a black picture that hung on the wall, oppoſite to the bed where ſhe lay. There is a record among the Chikkaſah Indians, that tells us of a white child with flaxen hair, born in their country, long before any white people appeared in that part of the world; which they aſcribed to the immediate power of the Deity impreſſing her imagination in a dream. And the Philoſophical Tranſactions aſſure us of two white children having been born of black parents. But waving all other arguments, the different method of living, connected with the difference of climates, and extraordinary anointings and paintings, will effect both outward and inward changes in the human race, all round the globe: or, a different colour may be conveyed to the fœtus by the parents, through the channel of the fluids, without the leaſt variation of the original ſtamina. For, though the laws of nature cannot be traced far, where there are various circumſtances, and combinations of things, yet her works are exquiſitely conſtant and regular, being thereto impelled by unerring divine Wiſdom.

As the American Indians are of a reddiſh or copper colour,—ſo in general they are ſtrong, well proportioned in body and limbs, ſurpriſingly active and nimble, and hardy in their own way of living.

They are ingenious, witty, cunning, and deceitful; very faithful indeed to their own tribes, but privately diſhoneſt, and miſchievous to the Europeans and chriſtians. Their being honeſt and harmleſs to each other, may be through fear of reſentment and repriſal—which is unavoidable in caſe of any injury.

They are very cloſe, and retentive of their ſecrets; never forget injuries; revengeful of blood, to a degree of diſtraction. They are timorous, and, conſequently, cautious; very jealous of encroachments from their chriſtian neighbours; and, likewiſe, content with freedom, in every turn of fortune. They are poſſeſſed of a ſtrong comprehenſive judgment,—can form ſurpriſingly crafty ſchemes, and conduct them with equal caution, ſilence, and addreſs; they admit none but diſtinguiſhed warriors, and old beloved men, into their councils. They are ſlow, but very perſevering in their undertakings—commonly temperate in eating, but exceſſively immoderate in drinking.—They often transform themſelves by liquor into the likeneſs of mad foaming bears. The women, in general, are of a mild, amiable, ſoft diſpoſition: exceedingly modeſt in their behaviour, and very ſeldom noiſy, either in the ſingle, or married ſtate.

The men are expert in the uſe of fire-arms,—in ſhooting the bow,—and throwing the feathered dart, and tomohawk, into the flying enemy. They reſemble the lynx, with their ſharp penetrating black eyes, and are exceedingly ſwift of foot; eſpecially in a long chaſe: they will ſtretch away, through the rough woods, by the bare track, for two or three hundred miles, in purſuit of a flying enemy, with the continued ſpeed, and eagerneſs, of a ſtanch pack of blood hounds, till they ſhed blood. When they have allayed this their burning thirſt, they return home, at their leiſure, unleſs they chance to be purſued, as is ſometimes the caſe; whence the traders ſay, "that an Indian is never in a hurry, but when the devil is at his heels."

It is remarkable, that there are no deformed Indians—however, they are generally weaker, and ſmaller bodied, between the tropics, than in the higher latitudes; but not in an equal proportion: for, though the Chikkaſah and Choktah countries have not been long divided from each other, as appears by the ſimilarity of their language, as well as other things, yet the Chikkaſah are exceedingly taller, and ſtronger bodied than the latter, though their country is only two degrees farther north. Such a ſmall difference of latitude, in ſo healthy a region, could not make ſo wide a difference in the conſtitution of their bodies. The former are a comely, pleaſant looking people; their faces are tolerably round, contrary to the viſage of the others, which inclines much to flatneſs, as is the caſe of moſt of the other Indian Americans. The lips of the Indians, in general, are thin.

Their eyes are ſmall, ſharp, and black; and their hair is lank, coarſe, and darkiſh. I never ſaw any with curled hair, but one in the Choktah country, where was alſo another with red hair; probably, they were a mixture of the French and Indians. Romancing travellers, and their credulous copyiſts, report them to be *imbarbes*, and as perſons *impuberes*, and they appear ſo to ſtrangers. But both ſexes pluck all the hair off their bodies, with a kind of tweezers, made formerly of clam-ſhells, now of middle-ſized wire, in the ſhape of a gun-worm; which, being twiſted round a ſmall ſtick, and the ends faſtened therein, after being properly tempered, keeps its form: holding this Indian razor between their fore-finger and thumb, they deplume themſelves, after the manner of the Jewiſh novitiate prieſts, and proſelytes.—As the former could not otherwiſe be purified for the function of his ſacerdotal office; or the latter, be admitted to the benefit of religious communion.

Their chief *dreſs* is very ſimple, like that of the patriarchal age; of choice, many of their old head-men wear a long wide frock, made of the ſkins of wild beaſts, in honour of that antient cuſtom: It muſt be neceſſity that forces them to the pinching ſandals for their feet. They ſeem quite eaſy, and indifferent, in every various ſcene of life, as if they were utterly diveſted of paſſions, and the ſenſe of feeling. Martial virtue, and not riches, is their invariable ſtandard for preferment; for they neither eſteem, nor deſpiſe any of their people one jot more or leſs, on account of riches or dreſs. They compare both theſe, to paint on a warrior's face; becauſe it incites others to a ſpirit of martial benevolence for their country, and pleaſes his own fancy, and the eyes of ſpectators, for a little time, but is ſweated off, while he is performing his war-dances; or is defaced, by the change of weather.

They formerly wore ſhirts, made of dreſt deer-ſkins, for their ſummer viſiting dreſs: but their winter-hunting clothes were long and ſhaggy, made of the ſkins of panthers, bucks, bears, beavers, and otters; the fleſhy ſides outward, ſometimes doubled, and always ſoftened like velvet-cloth, though they retained their fur and hair. The needles and thread they uſed formerly, (and now at times) were fiſh-bones, or the horns and bones of deer, rubbed ſharp, and deer's ſinews, and a ſort of hemp, that grows among them ſpontaneouſly, in rich open lands. The women's dreſs conſiſts only in a broad ſoftened ſkin, or ſeveral ſmall ſkins ſewed together, which they wrap and tye round their waiſt, reaching a little below their knees: in cold weather, they wrap themſelves in the ſoftened ſkins of buffalo calves, with the wintery ſhagged wool inward, never forgetting to anoint, and tie up their hair, except in their time of mourning. The men wear, for ornament, and the conveniencies of hunting, thin deer-ſkin boots, well ſmoked, that reach ſo high up their thighs, as with their jackets to ſecure them from the brambles and braky thickets. They ſew them about five inches from the edges, which are formed into taſſels, to which they faſten fawns trotters, and ſmall pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock-ſpurs. The beaus uſed to faſten the like to their war-pipes, with the addition of a piece of an enemy's ſcalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the ſtem, each of them painted red: and they ſtill obſerve that old cuſtom, only they chooſe bell-buttons, to give a greater ſound.

The young Indian men and women, through a fondneſs of their ancient dreſs, wrap a piece of cloth round them, that has a near reſemblance to the old Roman toga, or prætexta. 'Tis about a fathom ſquare, bordered ſeven or eight quarters deep; to make a ſhining cavalier of the *beau monde*, and to keep out both the heat and cold. With this frantic apparel, the red heroes ſwaddle themſelves, when they are waddling, whooping, and prancing it away, in their ſweltery town-houſes, or ſuppoſed ſynhedria, around the reputed holy fire. In a ſweating condition, they will thus incommode themſelves, frequently, for a whole night, on the ſame principle of pride, that the grave Spaniard's winter cloak muſt ſweat him in ſummer.

They have a great averſion to the wearing of breeches; for to that cuſtom, they affix the idea of helpleſſneſs, and effeminacy. I know a German of thirty years ſtanding, chiefly among the Chikkaſah Indians, who becauſe he kept up his breeches with a narrow piece of cloth that reached acroſs his ſhoulders, is diſtinguiſhed by them, as are all his countrymen, by the deſpicable appellative, Kiſh-Kiſh Tarākſhe, or *Tied Arſe*.—They eſteem the Engliſh much more than the Germans, becauſe our limbs, they ſay, are leſs reſtrained by our apparel from manly exerciſe, than theirs. The Indian women alſo diſcreetly obſerve, that, as all their men ſit down to make water, the ugly breeches would exceedingly incommode them; and that, if they were allowed to wear breeches, it would portend no good to their country: however, they add, ſhould they ever be ſo unlucky, as to have that pinching cuſtom introduced among them, the Engliſh breeches would beſt ſuit their own female poſture on that occaſion; but that it would be exceedingly troubleſome either way. The men wear a ſlip of cloth, about a quarter of an ell wide, and an ell and an half long, in the lieu of breeches; which they put between their legs, and tye round their haunches, with a convenient broad bandage. The women, ſince the time we firſt traded with them, wrap a fathom of the half breadth of Stroud cloth round their waiſt, and tie it with a leathern belt, which is commonly covered with braſs runners or buckles: but this ſort of looſe petticoat, reaches only to their hams, in order to ſhew their exquiſitely fine proportioned limbs.

They make their ſhoes for common uſe, out of the ſkins of the bear and elk, well dreſſed and ſmoked, to prevent hardening; and thoſe for ornament, out of deer-ſkins, done in the like manner: but they chiefly go bare-footed, and always bare-headed. The men faſten ſeveral different ſorts of beautiful feathers, frequently in tufts; or the wing of a red bird, or the ſkin of a ſmall hawk, to a lock of hair on the crown of their heads. And every different Indian nation when at war, trim their hair, after a different manner, through contempt of each other; thus we can diſtinguiſh an enemy in the woods, ſo far off as we can ſee him.

The Indians flatten their heads, in divers forms: but it is chiefly the crown of the head they depreſs, in order to beautify themſelves, as their wild fancy terms it; for they call us *long heads*, by way of contempt. The Choktah Indians flatten their fore-heads, from the top of the head to the eye-brows with a ſmall bag of ſand; which gives them a hideous appearance; as the forehead naturally ſhoots upward, according as it is flattened: thus, the riſing of the noſe, inſtead of being equidiſtant from the beginning of the chin, to that of the hair, is, by their wild mechaniſm, placed a great deal nearer to the one, and farther from the other. The Indian nations, round South-Carolina, and all the way to New Mexico, (properly called Mechiko) to effect this, fix the tender infant on a kind of cradle, where his feet are tilted, above a foot higher than a horizontal poſition,

ſition,—his head bends back into a hole, made on purpoſe to receive it, where he bears the chief part of his weight on the crown of the head, upon a ſmall bag of ſand, without being in the leaſt able to move himſelf. The ſkull reſembling a fine cartilaginous ſubſtance, in its infant ſtate, is capable of taking any impreſſion. By this preſſure, and their thus flattening the crown of the head, they conſequently make their heads thick, and their faces broad: for, when the ſmooth channel of nature is ſtopped in one place, if a deſtruction of the whole ſyſtem doth not thereby enſue, it breaks out in a proportional redundancy, in another. May we not to this cuſtom, and as a neceſſary effect of this cauſe, attribute their fickle, wild, and cruel tempers? eſpecially, when we connect therewith, both a falſe education, and great exerciſe to agitate their animal ſpirits. When the brain, in cooler people, is diſturbed, it neither reaſons, nor determines, with proper judgment? The Indians thus look on every thing around them, through their own falſe medium; and vilify our heads, becauſe they have given a wrong turn to their own.

Obſervations on the origin and deſcent of the Indians.

THE very remote hiſtory of all nations, is disfigured with fable, and gives but little encouragement to diſtant enquiry, and laborious reſearches. Much of the early hiſtory and antiquities of nations is loſt, and ſome people have no records at all, and to this day are rude and uncivilized. Yet a knowledge of them is highly intereſting, and would afford amuſement, and even inſtruction in the moſt poliſhed times, to the moſt polite. Every ſcience has certain principles, as its baſis, from which it reaſons and concludes. Mathematical theorems, and logical propoſitions, give clear demonſtrations, and neceſſary concluſions: and thus other ſciences. But, *hiſtory*, and the *origin* of tribes and nations, have hitherto been covered with a great deal of obſcurity. Some antient hiſtorians were ignorant; others prejudiced. Some ſearchers into antiquities adopted the traditional tales of their predeceſſors: and others looking with contempt on the origin of tribes and ſocieties, altogether exploded them, without inveſtigation. My deſign is, to examine, and if poſſible, aſcertain the genealogy and deſcent of the Indians, and to omit nothing that may in the leaſt contribute to furniſh the public with a full Indian System.

In tracing the origin of a people, where there are no records of any kind, either written, or engraved, who rely ſolely on oral tradition for the ſupport of their antient uſages, and have loſt great part of them—though the undertaking be difficult, yet where ſeveral particulars, and circumſtances, ſtrong and clear, correſpond, they not only make room for conjecture, but cheriſh probability, and till better can be offered, muſt be deemed concluſive.

All the various nations of Indians, ſeem to be of one deſcent; they call a buffalo, in their various dialects, by one and the ſame name, "*Yanaſa.*" And there is a ſtrong ſimilarity of religious rites, and of civil and martial cuſtoms, among all the various American nations of Indians we have any knowledge of, on the extenſive continent; as will ſoon be ſhewn.

Their language is copious, and very expreſſive, for their narrow orbit of ideas, and full of rhetorical tropes and figures, like the orientaliſts. In early times, when languages were not ſo copious, rhetoric was invented to ſupply that defect: and, what barrenneſs then forced them to, cuſtom now continues as an ornament.

Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators, of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent ſpeakers deliver a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praiſe, and for the great loſs, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-máſh-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red ſhoes.* The orator compared him to the ſun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole ſyſtem of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a conſiderable length, he expatiated on the variety of evils, that neceſſarily reſult from the diſappearance and abſence of the ſun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expreſſion, he concluded his oration with the ſame trope, with which he began.

They often change the ſenſe of words into a different ſignification from the natural, exactly after the manner alſo of the orientaliſts. Even, their common ſpeech is full of it; like the prophetic writings, and the book of Job, their orations are conciſe, ſtrong, and full of fire; which ſufficiently confutes the wild notion which ſome have eſpouſed of the North American Indians being Præ-Adamites, or a ſeparate race of men, created for that continent What ſtronger circumſtantial proofs can be expected, than that they, being disjoined from the reſt of the world, time immemorial, and deſtitute alſo of the uſe of letters, ſhould have, and ſtill retain the ancient ſtandard of ſpeech, conveyed down by oral tradition from father to ſon, to the preſent generation? Beſides, their perſons, cuſtoms, &c. are not ſingular from the reſt of the world; which, probably, they would, were they not deſcended from one and the ſame common head. Their notions of things are like ours, and their organical ſtructure is the ſame. In them, the ſoul governs the body, according to the common laws of God in the creation of Adam. God employed ſix days, in creating the heavens, this earth, and the innumerable ſpecies of creatures, wherewith it is ſo amply furniſhed. The works of a being, infinitely perfect, muſt entirely anſwer the deſign of them: hence there could be no neceſſity for a ſecond creation; or God's creating many pairs of the human race differing from each other, and fitted for different climates: becauſe, that implies imperfection, in the grand ſcheme, or a want of power, in the execution of it—Had there been a prior, or later formation of any new claſs of creatures, they muſt materially differ from thoſe of the ſix days work; for it is inconſiſtent with divine wiſdom to make a vain, or unneceſſary repetition of the ſame act. But the American Indians neither vary from the reſt of mankind, in their internal conſtruction, nor external appearance, except in colour; which, as hath been ſhewn, is either entirely accidental, or artificial. As the Moſaic account declares a completion of the manifeſtations of God's infinite wiſdom and power in creation, within that ſpace of time; it follows, that the Indians have lineally deſcended from Adam, the firſt, and the great parent of all the human ſpecies.

Both the Chikkaſah and Choktah Indians, call a deceitful perſon, *Seente*, a ſnake: and they frequently ſay, they have not *Seente Sooliſh*, the ſnake's tongue; the meaning of which, is very analogous to דפי, a name the Hebrews gave to a deceitful perſon; which probably proceeded from a traditional knowledge of Eve's being beguiled by the tempter, in that ſhape; for the Indians never affix any bad idea to the preſent reptile fraternity, except that of poiſonous teeth: and they never uſe any ſuch metaphor, as that of a ſnake's teeth.

Some have ſuppoſed the Americans to be deſcended from the *Chineſe*: but neither their religion, laws, cuſtoms, &c., agree in the leaſt with thoſe of the Chineſe: which ſufficiently proves, they are not of that line. Beſides, as our beſt ſhips now are almoſt half a year in ſailing to China, or from thence to Europe; it is very unlikely they ſhould attempt ſuch dangerous diſcoveries, in early time, with their (ſuppoſed) ſmall veſſels, againſt rapid currents, and in dark and ſickly monſoons; eſpecially, as it is very probable they were unacquainted with the uſe of the load-ſtone to direct their courſe. China is above eight thouſand miles diſtant from the American continent, which is twice as far as acroſs the Atlantic ocean.—And, we are not informed by any antient writer, of their maritime ſkill, or ſo much as any inclination that way, beſides ſmall coaſting voyages.—The winds blow likewiſe, with little variation, from eaſt to weſt, within the latitudes of thirty and odd, north and ſouth, and therefore they could not drive them on the American coaſt, it lying directly contrary to ſuch a courſe.

Neither could perſons ſail to America, from the north, by the way of Tartary, or ancient Scythia; that, from its ſituation, never was, or can be, a maritime power, and it is utterly impracticable for any to come to America, by ſea, from that quarter. Beſides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial cuſtoms, are quite oppoſite to the like veſtiges of the old Scythians.

Nor, even in the moderate northern climates, is to be ſeen the leaſt veſtige of any ancient ſtately buildings, or of any thick ſettlements, as are ſaid to remain in the leſs healthy regions of Peru and Mexico. Several of the Indian nations aſſure us they croſſed the Miſſiſippi, before they made their preſent northern ſettlements; which, connected with the former arguments, will ſufficiently explode that weak opinion, of the American Aborigines being lineally deſcended from the Tartars, or ancient Scythians.

It is a very difficult thing to diveſt ourſelves, not to ſay, other perſons, of prejudices and favourite opinions; and I expect to be cenſured by ſome, for oppoſing commonly received ſentiments, or for meddling with a diſpute agitated among the learned ever ſince the firſt diſcovery of America. But, Truth is my object: and I hope to offer ſome things, which, if they do not fully ſolve the problem, may lead the way, and enable others, poſſeſſing ſtronger judgment, more learning, and more leiſure, to accompliſh it. As I before ſuggeſted, where we have not the light of hiſtory, or records, to guide us through the dark maze of antiquity, we muſt endeavour to find it out by probable arguments; and in ſuch ſubjects of enquiry, where no material objections can be raiſed againſt probability, it is ſtrongly concluſive of the truth, and nearly gives the thing ſought for.

From the moſt exact obſervations I could make in the long time I traded among the Indian Americans, I was forced to believe them lineally deſcended from the Iſraelites, either while they were a maritime power, or ſoon after the general captivity; the latter however is the moſt probable. This deſcent, I ſhall endeavour to prove from their religious rites, civil and martial cuſtoms, their marriages, funeral ceremonies, manners, language, traditions, and a variety of particulars.—Which will at the ſame time make the reader thoroughly acquainted with nations, of which it may be ſaid to this day, very little have been known.

Obſervations, and arguments, in proof of the American Indians being deſcended from the Jews.

A Number of particulars preſent themſelves in favour of a Jewiſh deſcent. But to form a true judgment, and draw a ſolid concluſion, the following arguments muſt not be partially ſeparated. Let them be diſtinctly conſidered—then unite them together, and view their force collectively.

ARGUMENT I.

As the Iſraelites were divided into Tribes, and had chiefs over them, ſo the Indians divide themſelves: each tribe forms a little community within the nation—And as the nation hath its particular ſymbol, ſo hath each tribe the badge from which it is denominated. The ſachem of each tribe, is a neceſſary party in conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of his tribe, as a corporation with us doth their public ſeal *.—If we go from nation to nation among them, we ſhall not find one, who doth not lineally diſtinguiſh himſelf by his reſpective family. The genealogical names which they aſſume, are derived, either from the names of thoſe animals, whereof the *cherubim* are ſaid in revelation, to be compounded; or from ſuch creatures as are moſt familiar to them. They have the families of the *eagle*, *panther*, *tyger*, and *buffalo*; the family of the *bear*, *deer*, *racoon*, *tortoiſe*, *ſnake*, *fiſh*; and, likewiſe, of the *wind*. The laſt, if not derived from the appearance of the divine glory, as expreſſed by the prophet Ezekiel, may be of Tyrian extraction. We are told in the fragment of Sanchoniathon, that the Tyrians worſhipped fire, and the ærial wind, as gods; and that Uſous, the ſon of Hypſouranias, built a ſacred pillar to each of them: ſo that, if it is not of Iſraelitiſh extraction, it may be derived from the Tyrians their neighbours—as may, likewiſe, the appellative name of *fiſh*; eſpecially, as the Indians, ſometimes, invoke the eagle, and the fiſh, when they are curing their ſick. The Tyrians were the people, in early times, who, above all others, enriched themſelves in the natural element of the fiſh.

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* Many of the ancient heathens followed the Jewiſh cuſtom of dividing themſelves into tribes, or families. The city of Athens was divided into ten parts, or tribes, and which the Greeks called *Phule*, a tribe. They named each of the heads that preſided over them, Archegos, Archiphulogos, &c. And writers inform us, that the Eaſt-Indian pagans have to this day tribes, or caſts; and that each caſt chuſes a head to maintain its privileges, to promote a ſtrict obſervance of their laws, and to take care that every thing be managed with proper order. The ancient heathens mimicked a great deal of the Jewiſh ceremonial law.

The Indians, however, bear no religious reſpect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the ſpecies, when opportunity ſerves. The *wolf* indeed, ſeveral of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the ſole reaſon that few of the Indians ſhoot at that creature, through a notion of ſpoiling their guns. Conſidering the proximity of Tyre to Egypt, probably this might be a cuſtom of Egyptian extraction; though, at the ſame time, they are ſo far from eſteeming it a deity, they reckon it the moſt abominable quadruped of the whole creation.

There is no tribe, or individual, among them, however, called by the name *opoſſum* *, which is with the Cheerake ſtiled *ſeequa*; and with the Chikkaſah and Choktah Indians, *ſhookka*, ſynonymous with that of a *hog*. This may be more material than at firſt appears, as our natural hiſtories tell us, that the opoſſum is common in other parts of the world. Several of the old Indians aſſure us, they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal, as a hog; although they confeſs, and we know by long obſervation, that, from the time our traders ſettled among them, they are every year more corrupt in their morals; not only in this inſtance of eating an impure animal, but in many other religious cuſtoms of their forefathers.

When we conſider the various revolutions theſe unlettered ſavages are likely to have undergone, among themſelves, through a long-forgotten meaſure of time; and that, probably, they have been above twenty centuries, without the uſe of letters to convey down their traditions, it cannot be reaſonably expected they ſhould ſtill retain the identical names of their primo-genial tribes. Their main cuſtoms correſponding with thoſe of the Iſraelites, ſufficiently clears the ſubject. Beſides, as hath been hinted, they call ſome of their tribes by the names of the cherubimical figures, that were carried on the four principal ſtandards of Iſrael.

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* A creature that hath a head like a hog, and a tail like a rat.

I have obſerved with much inward ſatisfaction, the community of goods that prevailed among them, after the patriarchal manner, and that of the primitive chriſtians; eſpecially with thoſe of their own tribe. Though they are become exceedingly corrupt, in moſt of their ancient commendable qualities, yet they are ſo hoſpitable, kind-hearted, and free, that they would ſhare with thoſe of their own tribe, the laſt part of their proviſions, even to a ſingle ear of corn; and to others, if they called when they were eating; for they have no ſtated meal-time. An open generous temper is a ſtanding virtue among them; to be narrow-hearted, eſpecially to thoſe in want, or to any of their own family, is accounted a great crime, and to reflect ſcandal on the reſt of the tribe. Such wretched miſers they brand with bad characters, and wiſh them the fate of Prometheus, to have an eagle or vulture faſtened to their liver: or of Tantalus, ſtarving in the midſt of plenty, without being able to uſe it. The Cheerake Indians have a pointed proverbial expreſſion, to the ſame effect—*Sinnawàh nà wóra*; "The great hawk is at home." However, it is a very rare thing to find any of them of a narrow temper: and though they do not keep one promiſcuous common ſtock, yet it is to the very ſame effect; for every one has his own family, or tribe: and, when one of them is ſpeaking, either of the individuals, or habitations, of any of his tribe, he ſays, "He is of my houſe;" or, "It is my houſe." Thus, when King David prayed that the divine wrath might only fall on his houſe, he might mean the tribe of Judah, as well as his own particular family, excluſive of the aggregate body of Iſrael.

When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a houſe of their own tribe; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never ſaw the perſons before—they eat, drink, and regale themſelves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the ſolid ground covered with a bear-ſkin. It is their uſual cuſtom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glaſs, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and ſhot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow: for as they are generally in a ſtate of war againſt each other, they are obliged, as ſoon as able, to carry thoſe arms of defence. Every town has a ſtate-houſe, or ſynedrion, as the Jewiſh ſanhedrim, where, almoſt every night, the head men convene about public buſineſs; or the town's-people to feaſt, ſing, dance, and rejoice, in the divine preſence, as will fully be deſcribed hereafter. And if a ſtranger calls there, he is treated with the greateſt civility and hearty kindneſs—he is ſure to find plenty of their ſimple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the ſoftened ſkins of bears, or buffaloes, to ſleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a ſtated cuſtom, they are ſlow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addreſſes him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinſman.

When a warrior dies a natural death, (which ſeldom happens) the war-drums, muſical inſtruments, and all other kinds of diverſion, are laid aſide for the ſpace of three days and nights. In this time of mourning for the dead, I have known ſome of the frolickſome young ſparks to aſk the name of the deceaſed perſon's tribe; and once, being told it was a *racoon*, (the genealogical name of the family) one of them ſcoffingly replied, "then let us away to another town, and cheer ourſelves with thoſe who have no reaſon to weep; for why ſhould we make our hearts weigh heavy for an ugly, dead racoon?"

But notwithſtanding they are commonly negligent of any other tribe but their own, they regard their own particular lineal deſcent, in as ſtrict a manner as did the Hebrew nation.

ARGUMENT II.

By a ſtrict, permanent, divine precept, the Hebrew nation were ordered to worſhip at Jeruſalem, *Jehovah* the true and living God, and who by the Indians is ſtiled *Yohewah*; which the ſeventy-two interpreters, either from ignorance or ſuperſtition, have tranſlated *Adonai*; and is the very ſame as the Greek *Kurios*, ſignifying Sir, Lord, or Maſter; which is commonly applied to earthly potentates, without the leaſt ſignification of, or relation to, that moſt great and awful name, which deſcribes the divine eſſence, who naturally and neceſſarily exiſts of himſelf, without beginning or end. The ancient heathens, it is well known, worſhipped a plurality of gods—Gods which they formed to themſelves, according to their own liking, as various as the countries they inhabited, and as numerous, with ſome, as the days of the year. But theſe Indian Americans pay their religious devoir to *Loak-Iſhtōhoollo-Aba*, "the great, beneficent, ſupreme, holy ſpirit of fire," who reſides (as they think) above the clouds, and on earth alſo with unpolluted people. He is with them the ſole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life. They do not pay the leaſt perceivable adoration to any images, or to dead perſons; neither to the celeſtial luminaries, nor evil ſpirits, nor any created being whatſoever. They are utter ſtrangers to all the geſtures practiſed by the pagans in their religious rites. They kiſs no idols; nor, if they were placed out of their reach, would they kiſs their hands, in token of reverence and a willing obedience.

The ceremonies of the Indians in their religious worſhip, are more after the Moſaic inſtitution, than of pagan imitation: which could not be, if the majority of the old natives were of heatheniſh deſcent; for all bigots and enthuſiaſts will fight to death for the very ſhadow of their ſuperſtitious worſhip, when they have even loſt all the ſubſtance. There yet remain ſo many marks, as to enable us to trace the Hebrew extraction and rites, through all the various nations of Indians; and we may with a great deal of probability conclude, that, if any heathens accompanied them to the American world, or were ſettled in it before them, they became proſelytes of juſtice, and their pagan rites and cuſtoms were ſwallowed up in the Jewiſh.

To illuſtrate the general ſubject, I ſhall give the Indian opinion of ſome of the heathen gods, contraſted with that of the pagan.

The American Indians do not believe the SUN to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. Converſing with the Chikkàſah archi-magus, or high-prieſt, about that luminary, he told me, "it might poſſibly be as broad and round as his winter-houſe; but he thought it could not well exceed it." We cannot be ſurprized at the ſtupidity of the Americans in this reſpect, when we conſider the groſs ignorance which now prevails among the general part of the Jews, not only of the whole ſyſtem of nature, but of the eſſential meaning of their own religious ceremonies, received from the Divine Majeſty.

—And alſo when we reflect, that the very learned, and moſt polite of the ancient Romans, believed (not by any new-invented mythology of their own) that the ſun was drawn round the earth in a chariot. Their philoſophic ſyſtem was not very diſſimilar to that of the wild Americans; for Cicero tells us, Epicurus thought the ſun to be leſs than it appeared to the eye. And Lucretius ſays, *Tantillus ille ſol*, " a diminutive thing." And, if the Iſraelites had not at one time thought the ſun a portable god, they would not have thought of a chariot for it. This they derived from the neighbouring heathen; for we are told, that they had an houſe of the ſun, where they danced in honour of him, in circuits, and had conſecrated ſpherical figures; and that they, likewiſe, built a temple to it; for "they purified and ſanctified themſelves in the gardens, behind the houſe, or temple of Achad." In *Iſa.* xvii. 8, we find they had *ſun-images*, which the Hebrews called *chummanim*, made to repreſent the ſun, or for the honour and worſhip of it: and the Egyptians met yearly to worſhip in the temple of Beth-Shemeſh, a houſe dedicated to the ſun. Moſt part of the old heathens adored all the celeſtial orbs, eſpecially the ſun; probably they firſt imagined its enlivening rays immediately iſſued from the holy fire, light, and ſpirit, who either reſided in, or was the identical ſun. That idolatrous ceremony of the Jews, Joſiah utterly aboliſhed about 640 years before our chriſtian æra. The ſacred text ſays, " He took away the horſes, which the kings of Judah had given to the ſun, and he burned the chariots of the ſun with fire." At Rhodes, a neighbouring iſland to Judæa, they conſecrated chariots to the ſun, on account of his glorious ſplendour and benign qualities. Macrobius tells us, that the Aſſyrians worſhipped Adad, or Achad, an idol of the ſun; and Strabo acquaints us, the Arabians paid divine homage to the ſun, &c. But the Indian Americans pay only a civil regard to the ſun: and the more intelligent ſort of them believe, that all the luminaries of the heavens are moved by the ſtrong fixt laws of the great Author of nature.

In 2 *Kings* xvii. 30, we read that the men of Babylon built Succoth-Benoth, " tents for young women;" having conſecrated a temple to Venus, they fixed tents round it, where young women proſtituted themſelves in honour of the goddeſs. Herodotus, and other authors, are alſo ſufficient witneſſes on this point. Now, were the Amercains originally heathens, or not of Iſrael, when they wandered there from captivity, in queſt of liberty, or on any other accidental account, that vicious precedent was ſo well calculated for America, where every place was a thick arbour, it is very improbable they ſhould have diſcontinued it: But they are the very reverſe. To commit ſuch acts of pollution, while they are performing any of their religious ceremonies, is deemed ſo provoking an impiety, as to occaſion even the ſuppoſed ſinner to be excluded from all religious communion with the reſt of the people. Or even was a man known to have gone in to his own wife, during the time of their faſtings, purifications, &c. he would alſo be ſeparated from them. There is this wide difference between the impure and obſcene religious ceremonies of the ancient heathens, and the yet penal, and ſtrict purity of the natives of America.

The heathens choſe ſuch gods, as were moſt ſuitable to their inclinations, and the ſituation of their country. The warlike Greeks and Romans worſhipped *Mars* the god of war; and the ſavage and more bloody Scythians deified the *Sword.* The neighbouring heathens round Judæa, each built a temple to the ſuppoſed god that preſided over their land. *Rimmon*, was the Syrian god of pomegranates: and the Philiſtines, likewiſe, erected a temple to *Dagon*, who had firſt taught them the uſe of wheat; which the Greeks and Romans changed into *Ceres*, the goddeſs of corn, from the Hebrew, *Geres*, which ſignifies grain. But the red Americans firmly believe, that their war-captains, and their reputed prophets, gain ſucceſs over their enemies, and bring on ſeaſonable rains, by the immediate reflection of the divine fire, co-operating with them.

We are informed by Cicero, that the maritime Sidonians adored *fiſhes*: and by the fragment of Sanchoniathon, that the Tyrians worſhipped the element of *fire*, and the *ærial wind*, as gods:—probably having forgotten that the firſt and laſt names of the three celeſtial cherubic emblems, only typified the deity. Ancient hiſtory informs us, that Zoroaſter, who lived An. M. 3480, made *light* the emblem of good, and *darkneſs* the ſymbol of evil—he taught an abhorrence of images, and inſtructed his pupils to worſhip God, under the figurative likeneſs of *fire*: but he aſſerted two contrary original principles; the one of good, and the other of evil. He allowed no temples, but enjoined ſacrificing in the open air, and on the top of an hill. The ancient Perſians kept up their reputed holy fire, without ſuffering it to be extinguiſhed; which their pretended ſucceſſors obſerve with the ſtricteſt devotion, and affirm it has been burning, without the leaſt intermiſſion, ſeveral thouſand years. But the Indian Americans are ſo far from the idolatry of the Sidonians, that they eſteem fiſh only as they are uſeful to the ſupport of human life; though one of their tribes is called the *fiſh*:—they are ſo far from paying any religious worſhip to the aerial wind, like the Tyrians, that they often call the bleak north-wind, explicatively, very evil, and accurſed; which they probably, would not ſay, if they derived the great eſteem they now have for the divine fire, from the aforeſaid idolatrous nations: neither would they wilfully extinguiſh their old fire, before the annual ſacrifice is offered up, if, like the former heathens, they paid religious worſhip to the elementary fire; for no ſociety of people would kill their own gods, unleſs the papiſts, who go farther, even to eat him. The Indians eſteem the old year's fire, as a moſt dangerous pollution, regarding only the ſuppoſed holy fire, which the archi-magus annually renews for the people.

They pay no religious worſhip to ſtocks, or ſtones, after the manner of the old eaſtern pagans; neither do they worſhip any kind of images whatſoever. And it deſerves our notice, in a very particular manner, to invalidate the idle dreams of the jeſuitical fry of South-America, that none of all the various nations, from Hudſon's Bay to the Miſſiſippi, has ever been known, by our trading people, to attempt to make any image of the great Divine Being, whom they worſhip. This is conſonant to the Jewiſh obſervance of the ſecond commandment, and directly contrary to the uſage of all the ancient heathen world, who made corporeal repreſentations of their deities—and their conduct, is a reproach to many reputed chriſtian temples, which are littered round with a crowd of ridiculous figures to repreſent God, ſpurious angels, pretended ſaints, and notable villains.

The ſacred penmen, and prophane writers, aſſure us that the ancient heathens had laſcivious gods, particularly מפלצת, 2 *Chron.* xv. 16. which was the abominable Priapus. But I never heard that any of our North-American Indians had images of any kind. There is a carved human ſtatue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage: It belongs to the head war-town of the upper Muſkohge country, and ſeems to have been originally deſigned to perpetuate the memory of ſome diſtinguiſhed hero, who deſerved well of his country; for, when their *cuſſeena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the ſynedrion, they frequently, on common occaſions, will bring it there, and honour it with the firſt conch-ſhell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is obſervable, that the ſame beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his co-adjutant, equally obſerve the ſame ceremony to every perſon of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I paſt that way, circumſtances did not allow me to view this ſingular figure; but I am aſſured by ſeveral of the traders, who have frequently ſeen it, that the carving is modeſt, and very neatly finiſhed, not unworthy of a modern civilized artiſt. As no body of people we are acquainted with, have, in general, ſo great a ſhare of ſtrong natural parts as thoſe ſavages, we may with a great deal of probability ſuppoſe, that their tradition of the ſecond commandment, prevented them from having one, not to ſay the ſame plentiful variety of images, or idols, as have the popiſh countries.

Notwithſtanding they are all degenerating apace, on account of their great intercourſe with foreigners, and other concurring cauſes; I well remember, that, in the year 1746, one of the upper towns of the aforeſaid Muſkohge, was ſo exceedingly exaſperated againſt ſome of our Chikkaſah traders, for having, when in their cups, forcibly viewed the nakedneſs of one of their women, (who was reputed to be an hermaphrodite) that they were on the point of putting them to death, according to one of their old laws againſt crimes of that kind.—But ſeveral of us, aſſiſted by ſome of the Kooſah town, reſcued them from their juſt demerit. Connecting together theſe particulars, we can ſcarcely deſire a ſtronger proof, that they have not been idolaters, ſince they firſt came to America; much leſs, that they erected, and worſhipped any ſuch laſcivious and obſcene idols, as the heathens above recited.

The Sidonians and Philiſtines worſhipped Aſhtaroth, in the figure of the *celeſtial luminaries*; or, according to others, in the form of a *ſheep*: but the Americans pay the former, only, a civil regard, becauſe of the beneficial influence with which the deity hath impreſſed them. And they reckon *ſheep* as deſpicable and helpleſs, and apply the name to perſons in that predicament, although a ram was the animal emblem of power, with the ancient eaſtern heathens. The Indians ſometimes call a naſty fellow, *Chookphe*

kuſſaoma,

kuſſooma, "a ſtinking ſheep," and "a goat." And yet a goat was one of the Egyptian deities; as likewiſe were all the creatures that bore wool; on which account, the ſacred writers frequently term idols, "the hairy." The deſpicable idea which the Indians affix to the ſpecies, ſhews they neither uſe it as a divine ſymbol, nor have a deſire of being named Dorcas, which, with the Hebrews, is a proper name, expreſſive of a wild ſhe goat. I ſhall ſubjoin here, with regard to Aſhtaroth, or Aſtarte, that though the ancients believed their deities to be immortal, yet they made to themſelves both male and female gods, and, by that means, Aſtarte, and others, are of the fæminine gender. Triſmegiſtus too, and the Platonics, affirmed there was deus maſculo-fæmineus; though different ſexes were needful for the procreation of human beings.

Inſtead of conſulting ſuch as the heathen oracles—or the Teraphim—the Dii Penates—or Dii Lares, of the ancients, concerning future contingencies, the Indians only pretend to divine from their dreams; which may proceed from the tradition they ſtill retain of the knowledge their anceſtors obtained from heaven, in viſions of the night, *Job* xxxiii. "God ſpeaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a viſion of the night, when deep ſleep falleth upon men, in ſlumberings upon the bed, then he openeth the ears of men, and ſealeth their inſtruction." When we conſider how well ſtocked with gods, all the neighbouring nations of Judæa were; eſpecially the maritime powers, ſuch as Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Egypt, which continually brought home foreign gods, and entered them into their own Palladia; and that theſe Americans are utterly ignorant both of the gods and their worſhip, it proves, with ſufficient evidence, that the gentlemen, who trace them from either of thoſe ſtates, only perplex themſelves in wild theory, without entering into the merits of the queſtion.

As the *bull* was the firſt terreſtrial *cherubic emblem*, denoting fire, the ancient Egyptians, in length of time, worſhipped Apis, Serapis, or Oſiris, under the form of an ox; but, when he grew old, they drowned him, and lamented his death in a mourning habit; which occaſioned a philoſopher thus to jeſt them, *Si Dii ſunt, cur plangitis? Si mortui, cur adoratis?* "If they be gods, why do you weep for them? And, if they are dead, why do you worſhip them?" A bull, ox, cow, or calf, was the favourite deity of the ancient idolaters. Even when YOHEWAH was conducting Iſrael in the wilderneſs, Aaron was forced to allow them a golden calf, according to the uſage of the Egyptians: and at the defection of the ten tribes, they worſhipped before the emblematical images of two calves, through the policy of Jeroboam. The Troglodites uſed to ſtrangle their aged, with a cow's tail: and ſome of the Eaſt-Indians are ſaid to fancy they ſhall be happy, by holding a cow's tail in their hand when dying: others imagine the Ganges to waſh away all their crimes and pollution. The Indian Americans, on the contrary, though they derive the name of cattle from part of the divine eſſential name, (as ſhall be elſewhere obſerved) and uſe the name of a buffalo as a war appellative, and the name of a tribe; yet their regard to them, centres only in their uſefulneſs for the ſupport of human life: and they believe they can perform their religious ablutions and purifications, in any deep clean water.

The ſuperſtitious heathens, whom the Hebrews called, *Yedonim*, pretended that the bones of thoſe they worſhipped as gods when alive, revealed both preſent and future things, that were otherwiſe concealed: and the hieroglyphics, the prieſtly legible images, which the Egyptians inſcribed on the tombs of the deceaſed, to praiſe their living virtue, and incite youth to imitate them, proved a great means of inducing them in proceſs of time to worſhip their dead. But the Americans praiſe only the virtues of their dead, as fit copies of imitation for the living. They firmly believe that the hand of God cuts off the days of their dead friend, by his pre-determined purpoſe. They are ſo far from deifying fellow-creatures, that they prefer none of their own people, only according to the general ſtandard of reputed merit.

The Chineſe, likewiſe, though they call God by the appellative, *Cham Ti*, and have their temples of a quadrangular form, yet they are groſs idolaters; like the ancient Egyptians, inſtead of offering up religious oblations to the great Creator and Preſerver of the univerſe, they pay them to the pictures of their deceaſed anceſtors, and erect temples to them, in ſolitary places without their cities—likewiſe to the ſun, moon, planets, ſpirits, and inventors of arts; eſpecially to the great Confucius, notwithſtanding he ſtrictly prohibited the like idolatrous rites. And the religious modes of the ancient inhabitants of Niphon, or the Japaneſe, are nearly the ſame; which are diametrically oppoſite to the religious tenets of the wild Americans.

The diviners among the Philiſtines pretended to foretel things, by the flying, chirping, and feeding of wild fowls. The Greeks and Romans called fowls, Nuncii Deorum. And Calchas is ſaid to have foretold to Agamemnon, by the number of ſparrows which flew before him, how many years the Trojan war ſhould laſt. The Aſſyrians worſhipped pigeons, and bore the figure of them on their ſtandards, as the ſacred oracles ſhew us, where the anger of the pigeon, and the ſword of the pigeon, points at the deſtroying ſword of the Aſſyrians. But, though the American woods ſwarm with a ſurprizing variety of beautiful wild fowl, yet the natives do not make the leaſt pretenſion to auguries. They know it is by a certain gift or inſtinct, inferior to human reaſon, that the birds have a ſufficient knowledge of the ſeaſons of the year. I once indeed obſerved them to be intimidated at the voice of a ſmall uncommon bird, when it pitched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp. But that is the only trace of ſuch ſuperſtition, as I can recollect among them. Inſtead of calling birds the meſſengers of the gods, they call the great eagle, *Oo̅le*; which ſeems to be an imitation of *Eloha.*—This may be accounted for, from the eagle being one of the cherubic emblems, denoting the air, or ſpirit. They eſteem pigeons only as they are ſalutary food, and they kill the turtle-dove, though they apply it as a proper name to their female children.

The Babylonians were much addicted to auguries: and they believed them to be unerring oracles, and able to direct them in doubtful and arduous things, *Ezek.* xxi. 21. Thoſe auguries always directed their conduct, in every material thing they undertook; ſuch as the beginning and carrying on war, going a journey, marriage, and the like. But, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, the Americans, when they go to war, prepare and ſanctify themſelves, only by faſting and ablutions, that they may not defile their ſuppoſed holy ark, and thereby incur the reſentment of the Deity. And many of them firmly believe, that marriages are made above. If the Indian Americans were deſcended from any of the ſtates or people above mentioned, they could not well have forgotten, much leſs could they have ſo eſſentially departed from their idolatrous worſhip. It is hence probable, they came here, ſoon after the captivity, when the religion of the Hebrew nation, reſpecting the worſhip of Deity, was in its purity. And if any of the ancient heathens came with them, they became proſelytes of habitation, or juſtice—hereby, their heatheniſh rites and ceremonies were, in proceſs of time, intirely abſorbed in the religious ceremonies of the Jews.

Had the nine tribes and half of Iſrael which were carried off by Shalmaneſer, King of Aſſyria, and ſettled in Media, continued there long, it is very probable, that by intermarrying with the natives, and from their natural fickleneſs and proneneſs to idolatry, and the force of example, they would have adopted, and bowed before the gods of the Medes and the Aſſyrians, and carried them along with them. But there is not a trace of this idolatry among the Indians. The ſevere afflictions they underwent in captivity, doubtleſs humbled their hearts, and reclaimed them from the ſervice of the calves, and of Baalam, to the true divine worſhip—a glimpſe of which they ſtill retain. And that the firſt ſettlers came to America before the deſtruction of the firſt temple, may be inferred, as it is certain both from Philo and Joſephus, that the ſecond temple had no cherubim. To reflect yet greater light on the ſubject, I ſhall here add a few obſervations on the Indians ſuppoſed religious cherubic emblems, the cherubimical names of their tribes, and from whence they, and the early heathens, may be ſuppoſed to have derived them.

When the goodneſs of Deity induced him to promiſe a ſaviour to fallen man, in paradiſe, he ſtationed flaming *cherubim* in the garden. The type I ſhall leave; but when mankind became intirely corrupt, God renewed his promiſe to the Iſraelites, and to convey to poſterity the true divine worſhip, ordered them to fix in the tabernacle, and in Solomon's temple, *cherubim*, over the mercy-ſeat,—the very curtains which lined the walls, and the veil of the temple, likewiſe, were to have thoſe figures. The cherubim are ſaid to repreſent the names and offices of *Yohewah Elohim*, in redeeming loſt mankind. The word כרבים, is drawn from כ, a note of reſemblance, and רב, a great or mighty one; *i. e.* the "ſimilitude of the great and mighry One," whoſe emblems were the bull, the lion, the man, and the eagle. The prophet Ezekiel has given us two draughts of the cherubim (certainly not without an inſtructive deſign) in his two viſions, deſcribed in the firſt and tenth chapters. In chap. x. ver. 20, he aſſures us that "he knew they were the cherubim." They were uniform, and had thoſe four compounded animal emblems; "Every one had four faces—פנים," appearances, habits, or forms; which paſſage is illuſtrated by the ſimilar divine emblems on the four principal ſtandards of Iſrael. The ſtandard of Judah bore the image of a *lion*; Ephraim's had the likeneſs of a *bull*; Reuben's had the figure of a *man's* head; and Dan's carried the picture of an *eagle*, with a ſerpent in his talons *: Each of the cherubim, according to the prophet, had the head and face of a man—the likeneſs of an eagle, about the ſhoulders, with expanded wings; their necks, manes, and breaſts, reſembled thoſe of a lion; and their feet thoſe of a bull, or calf. "The ſole of their feet was like the ſole of a calf's foot." One would conclude, from Ezekiel's viſions, and *Pſal.* xviii. 10.—*Pſ.* xcix. 1. "He rode upon a cherub, and did fly:"—"The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble: he ſitteth between the cherubim, let the earth be moved,"—that Elohim choſe the cherubic emblems, in condeſcenſion to man, to diſplay his tranſcendent glorious title of King of kings. We view him ſeated in his triumphal chariot, and as in the midſt of a formidable war camp, drawn by thoſe four creatures, the bull, the lion, the man, and the eagle; ſtrong and deſcriptive emblems of the divine eſſence. What animal is equal to the *bull*, or ox, for ſtrength, indefatigable ſervice, and alſo for food? In eaſtern countries, they were always uſed to plough, and beat out the grain, beſides other ſervices omitted in modern times; the *lion* excels every other animal in courage, force, and prowefs: *man* far ſurpaſſes all other creatures, in underſtanding, judgment, and wiſdom; and there is no bird ſo ſagacious, or can fly ſo ſwift, or ſoar ſo high as the eagle, or that bears ſo intenſe a love to its young ones.

Theſe are the emblems of the *terreſtrial cherubim*: and the Pſalmiſt calls them Merabha Haſhekina, "The chariot of Divine Majeſty:" "God ſitteth between, and rideth upon, the cherubim," or divine chariot. The *celeſtial cherubim* were *fire*, *light*, and *air*, or ſpirit, which were typified by the *bull*, the *lion*, and the *eagle*. Thoſe divine emblems, in a long revolution of time, induced the ancients by degrees, to divide them, and make images of the divine perſons, powers, and actions, which they typified, and to eſteem them gods. They conſecrated the bull's head to the fire, the lion's to light, and the eagle's to the air, which they worſhipped as gods. And, in proportion as they loſt the knowledge of the emblems, they multiplied and compounded their heads with thoſe of different creatures. The Egyptians commonly put the head of a lion, hawk, or eagle, and ſometimes that of a ram, or bull, to their images; ſome of which reſembled the human body. Their Apis, or Oſiris, gave riſe to Aaron's, and apoſtate Iſrael's, golden calf: and their ſphynx had three heads. Diana of Epheſus was triformis; Janus of Rome, biformis, and, ſometimes, quadriformis; and Jupiter, Sol, Mercury, Proſerpine, and Cerberus, were triple-headed.

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* The Man, which the lion on the ſtandard of Judah, and the head on Reuben's, typified, was, in the fulneſs of time, united to the divine eſſence.

Heſiod tells us, the ancient heathens had no leſs than thirty thouſand *gods*. It is well known that the ancient heathens, eſpecially the Greeks and Romans, abounded with male and female deities; and commonly in human effigy. As they imagined they could not ſafely truſt themſelves to the care of any one god, they therefore choſe a multiplicity. They multiplied and changed them from childhood to old age. The Romans proceeded ſo far, as to make Cloacina the guardian goddeſs of each houſe-of-office. The heathens in general, appointed one god to preſide over the land, and another over the water; one for the mountains, and another for the valleys. And they were ſo diffident of the power of their gods, that they choſe a god, or goddeſs, for each part of the body; contrary to the religious ſyſtem of their beſt poets and philoſophers, and that of the preſent ſavage Americans: the former affirmed, *ſapiens dominabitur aſtris*, &c.; "A wiſe, good man, will always be ruled by divine reaſon; and not pretend to be drawn to this or that, by an over-bearing power of the ſtars, or fortune:" and the latter aſſert, "that temporal good or evil is the neceſſary effect of their own conduct; and that the Deity preſides over life and death."

If the firſt inſtitution of the cherubic emblems was not religious, nor derived from the compounded figures of the ſcripture cherubim, how is it that ſo many various nations of antiquity, and far remote from each other, ſhould have choſen them as gods, and ſo exactly alike? Is it not moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that as they loſt the meaning of thoſe ſymbolical figures, and their archetypes, fire, light, and air, or ſpirit, which repreſented the attributes, names, and offices of *Yohewah Elohim*, they divided them into ſo many various gods, and paid them divine worſhip. Yet, though the Indian Americans have the ſuppoſed cherubimical figures, in their ſynhedria, and, through a ſtrong religious principle, dance there, perhaps every winter's night, always in a bowing poſture, and frequently ſing *Halelu-Yah Yo He Wah*, I could never perceive, nor be informed, that they ſubſtituted them, or the ſimilitude of any thing whatſoever, as objects of divine adoration, in the room of the great inviſible divine eſſence. They uſe the feathers of the eagle's tail, in certain friendly and religious dances, but the whole town will contribute, to the value of 200 deer-ſkins, for killing a large eagle; (the bald eagle they do not eſteem); and the man alſo gets an honourable title for the exploit, as if he had brought in the ſcalp of an enemy. Now, if they reckoned the eagle a god, they would not only refuſe perſonal profits, and honours, to him who killed it, but aſſuredly inflict on him the ſevereſt puniſhment, for committing ſo atrocious and ſacrilegious an act.

I have ſeen in ſeveral of the Indian ſynhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings ſtretched out, and raiſed five feet off the ground, ſtanding at the corner, cloſe to their red and white imperial ſeats: and, on the inner ſide of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles ſtand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figure of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the ſame colour; from which I conjecture, eſpecially, connected with their other rites and cuſtoms ſoon to be mentioned, that the former emblem was deſigned to deſcribe the divine attributes, as that bird excels the reſt of the feathered kind, in various ſuperior qualities; and that the latter ſymbol is a contraction of the cherubimical figures, the man, the bull, and the lion. And this opinion is corroborated by an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, both religious and martial, among them, which obliges them to paint thoſe ſacred emblems anew, at the firſt fruit-offering, or the annual expiation of ſins. Every one of their war-leaders muſt alſo make three ſucceſsful *wolfiſh campaigns*, with their reputed holy ark, before he is admitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to ſing the triumphal war ſong, and to dance with the ſame animal's tail ſticking up behind him, while he ſings *Yo Yo*, &c.

Now we know it was an uſual cuſtom with the eaſtern nations, to affix horns to their gods. The Sidonian goddeſs Aſhtaroth was horned: and Herodotus ſays, the Egyptians painted their Venus, or Iſis, after the ſame manner: and the Greek Jo, (which probably was Yo) had horns, in alluſion to the bull's head, the chief emblem of the celeſtial cherubic fire, repreſenting Yo (He Wah) as its name plainly indicates. A horn was, likewiſe, a Perſian emblem of power *.

That the Indians derived thoſe ſymbolical repreſentations from the compounded figures of the cherubim, ſeems yet more clear, from the preſent cherubic names of their tribes, and the pre-eminence they formerly bore over the reſt. At preſent, indeed, the moſt numerous tribe commonly bears the higheſt command; yet their old warriors aſſure us, it was not ſo even within their own remembrance. The title of the *old beloved men*, or *archi-magi*, is ſtill hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family:* As North-America breeds no lions, the panther, of any animal it contains, is the neareſt emblem of it. The Indian name of each cherub, both terreſtrial and celeſtial, reflects great light on the preſent ſubject; for they call the buffalo (bull) *Yanaſa*; the panther, or ſuppoſed lion, *Koè-Iſhto*, or *Koè-O*, "the cat of God;" the man, or human creature, *Ya-we*; and the eagle, *Ooóle*; fire is *Loak*; the ſolar light, *Aſhtahàle*; and air, *Màhàle*, in alluſion to מי, water, and אל, the omnipotent; the note of aſpiration is inſerted, to give the word a fuller and more vehement ſound. Their eagle and buffalo tribes reſemble two other cherubic names or emblems. They have one they call *Sphàne*, the meaning of which they have loſt; perhaps it might have ſignified the *man*.

Near to the red and white imperial ſeats, they have the repreſentation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breaſt-plate, raiſed five or ſix feet high at the front of the broad ſeats, and painted with chalky clay; ſometimes black paintings are intermixed. But, let it be noticed, that in the time of their moſt religious exerciſes, or their other friendly rejoicings there, they do not pay the leaſt adoration to any of thoſe expreſſive emblems; nor ſeem to take any notice of them: which is the very reverſe to the uſage of all the ancient heathen world. Hence one would conclude, that they not only brought with them the letter, but the meaning of thoſe reputed cherubimical figures, which were deſigned to repreſent the inſeparable attributes of *Yohewah*.

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* The metaphorical expreſſions, and emblematical repreſentations, of the law and the prophets, are generally ſuited to the uſages of the eaſtern countries. And this metaphor, of a horn, is commonly ſo uſed, through all the divine regiſters, multiplying the number of horns of the object they are deſcribing, to denote its various, great, and perfect power; unleſs where ſeven is mentioned as a number of perfection, as in St. John's figurative, magnificent, and ſublime deſcription of Chriſt.

It is univerſally agreed, by the chriſtian world, that every religious obſervance of the ancient heathens, which the Moſaic law approved of, was at firſt derived from divine appointment; and as we are aſſured in the firſt pages of the ſacred oracles, concerning Cain, *Gen.* iv. 16. "that he went out from the *preſence of the Lord*," we learn, that God, in that early ſtate of the world, choſe a place for his more immediate preſence,—פנים, his faces, appearances, or forms reſiding in, or between, the cherubim. We may, therefore, reaſonably conclude, from the various gods, and religious worſhip of the ancient heathens, and from the remaining divine emblems, and family names of the Indian Americans, that the former deduced thoſe emblems they deifyed, from the compounded cherubim in paradiſe: and that the Indians derived their cherubic figures, and names of tribes, from the cherubim that covered the mercy-ſeat, in the tabernacle, and in Solomon's temple, alluded to and delineated in ſeveral parts of the ſacred oracles.

ARGUMENT III.

Agreeable to the THEOCRACY, or divine government of Iſrael, the Indians think the Deity to be the immediate head of their ſtate.

All the nations of Indians are exceedingly intoxicated with religious pride, and have an inexpreſſible contempt of the white people, unleſs we except thoſe half-ſavage Europeans, who are become their proſelytes. *Nothings* is the moſt favourable name they give us, in their ſet ſpeeches: even the Indians who were formerly bred in amity with us, and in enmity to the French, uſed to call us, in their war orations, *hottūk ookprooſe*, "The accurſed people." But they flatter themſelves with the name *hottuk oretoopah*, "The beloved people," becauſe their ſuppoſed anceſtors, as they affirm, were under the immediate government of the Deity, who was preſent with them, in a very particular manner, and directed them by prophets; while the reſt of the world were aliens and out-laws to the covenant.

When the *archi-magus*, or any one of their magi, is perſuading the people, at their religious ſolemnities to a ſtrict obſervance of the old beloved, or divine ſpeech, he always calls them, "The beloved," or holy people, agreeable to the Hebrew epithet, *Ammi*, during the theocracy of Iſrael: he urges them, with the greateſt energy of expreſſion he is capable of, a ſtrong voice, and very expreſſive geſtures, to imitate the noble actions of their great and virtuous forefathers, which they performed, in a ſurprizing manner, by their holy things, and a ſtrict obſervance of the old, beloved ſpeech. Then, he flouriſhes on their beloved land that flowed with milk and honey, telling them they had good, and the beſt things in the greateſt plenty: and ſpeaks largely of their preſent martial cuſtoms, and religious rites, which they derived from their illuſtrious predeceſſors,—ſtrictly charging them not to deviate, in the leaſt, out of that old, beloved, beaten path, and they will ſurely meet with all the ſucceſs that attended their beloved forefathers.

I have heard the ſpeaker, on theſe occaſions, after quoting the war actions of their diſtinguiſhed chieftains, who fell in battle, urging them as a copy of imitation to the living—aſſure the audience, that ſuch a death, in defence of their beloved land, and beloved things, was far preferable to ſome of their living pictures, that were only ſpending a dying life, to the ſhame and danger of the ſociety, and of all their beloved things, while the others died by their virtue, and ſtill continue a living copy. Then, to ſoften the thoughts of death, he tells them, they who died in battle are only gone to ſleep with their beloved forefathers; (for they always collect the bones)—and mentions a common proverb they have, *Neetak Intàhāh*, "The days appointed, or allowed him, were finiſhed." And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a certain fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one muſt die, without any poſſibility of averting it. They frequently ſay, "Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light;" aſcribing life and death to God's unerring and particular providence; which may be derived from a religious opinion, and proverb of the Hebrews, that "the divine care extended itſelf, from the horns of the unicorn, to the very feet of the lice." And the more refined part of the old heathens believed the like. The ancient Greeks and Romans, who were great copiers of the rites and cuſtoms of the Jews, believed there were three deſtinies who preſided over human life, and had each of them their particular office; one held the diſtaff of life, while another ſpun the thread, and Atropos cut it off: a ſtrong but wild picture of the divine fire, light, and ſpirit. When Virgil is praiſing the extraordinary virtue of Ripheus, who was killed in defence of his native city, Troy, he adds, *Diis aliter viſum eſt*,—ſubmitting to the good and wiſe providence of the gods, who thought fit to call him off the ſtage. However, he ſeems to be perplexed on the ſubject; as he makes fate ſometimes conditional;

> ——————*Similis ſi cura fuiſſet,*
> *Nec pater omnipotens Trojam nec fata vetabant*
> *Stare,*————

"If the uſual proper care had been taken, neither Jupiter nor fate would have hindered Troy from ſtanding at this time." But, if the time of dying was unalterably fixed, according to the Indian ſyſtem, or that of our fataliſts, how would its votaries reconcile the ſcheme of divine Providence? which muſt be in conformity to truth, reaſon, and goodneſs,—and how explain the nature of moral good and evil? On their principle, ſelf-murder would be a neceſſary act of a paſſive being ſet on work by the firſt mover; and his obligations would be proportionable, only to his powers and faculties; which would excuſe the ſuppoſed criminal from any juſt future puniſhment for ſuicide. But religion, and true reaſon, deny the premiſes, and they themſelves will not own the conſequence.

It is their opinion of the THEOCRACY, or, that God choſe them out of all the reſt of mankind, as his peculiar and beloved people,—which animates both the white Jew, and the red American, with that ſteady hatred againſt all the world, except themſelves, and renders them hated or deſpiſed by all. The obſtinacy of the former, in ſhutting their eyes againſt the ſacred oracles, which are very explicit and clear in the original text, and of which they were the truſtees, incites both our pity and reproof; whereas the others firm adherence to, and ſtrong retention of, the rites and cuſtoms of their forefathers, only attract our admiration.

The American Indians are ſo far from being *Atheiſts*, as ſome godleſs Europeans have flattered themſelves, to excuſe their own infidelity, that they have the great ſacred name of God, that deſcribes his divine eſſence, and

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by which he manifeſted himſelf to Moſes—and are firmly perſuaded they now live under the immediate government of the Deity. The aſcenſion of the ſmoke of their victim, as a ſweet ſavour to *Yohewah*, (of which hereafter) is a full proof to the contrary, as alſo that they worſhip God, in a ſmoke and cloud, believing him to reſide above the clouds, and in the element of the, ſuppoſed, holy annual fire. It is no way material to fix any certain place for the reſidence of Him, who is omnipreſent, and who ſuſtains every ſyſtem of beings. It is not eſſential to future happineſs, whether we believe his chief place of abode is in *cœlo tertio*, *paradiſo terreſtri*, or *elemento igneo*. God hath placed conſcience in us for a monitor, witneſs, and judge.—It is the guilty or innocent mind, that accuſes, or excuſes us, to Him. If any farther knowledge was required, it would be revealed; but St. Paul ſtudiouſly conceals the myſteries he ſaw in the empyreal heavens.

The place of the divine reſidence is commonly ſaid to be above the clouds; but that is becauſe of the diſtance of the place, as well as our utter ignorance of the nature of Elohim's exiſtence, the omnipreſent ſpirit of the univerſe. Our finite minds cannot comprehend a being who is infinite. This inſcrutable labyrinth occaſioned Simonides, a diſcreet heathen poet and philoſopher, to requeſt Hiero, King of Sicily, for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, to grant him a longer time to deſcribe the nature of the Deity; and, at the end, to confeſs ingenuouſly, that the farther he waded in that deep myſtery, the more he ſunk out of his depth, and was leſs able to define it.

If we trace Indian antiquities ever ſo far, we ſhall find that not one of them ever retained, or imbibed, atheiſtical principles, except ſuch whoſe intereſt as to futurity it notoriouſly appeared to be—whoſe practices made them tremble whenever they thought of a juſt and avenging God: but theſe rare inſtances were ſo far from infecting the reſt, that they were the more confirmed in the opinion, of not being able either to live or die well, without a God. And this all nature proclaims in every part of the univerſe.

ARGUMENT IV.

We have abundant evidence of the Jews believing in the *miniſtration of angels*, during the Old-Teſtament diſpenſation; their frequent appearances, and their ſervices, on earth, are recorded in the oracles, which the Jews themſelves receive as given by divine inſpiration. And St. Paul in his epiſtle addreſſed to the Hebrews, ſpeaks of it as their general opinion, that "Angels are miniſtring ſpirits to the good and righteous on earth." And that it was the ſentiment of thoſe Jews who embraced chriſtianity, is evident from *Acts* xii. where an angel is ſaid to deliver Peter from his impriſonment, and when the maid reported that Peter ſtood at the gate knocking, his friends doubting, ſaid, "It is his angel." Women alſo are ordered to have their heads covered in religious aſſemblies, becauſe of the preſence of the angels, and to obſerve ſilence, the modeſt cuſtom of the eaſtern countries. The Indian ſentiments and traditions are the ſame.—They believe the higher regions to be inhabited by good ſpirits, whom they call *Hottuk Iſhtohoollo*, and *Nana Iſhtohoollo*, "holy people," and "relations to the great, holy One." The *Hottuk ookproofe*, or *Nana ookproofe*, "accurſed people," or "accurſed beings," they ſay, poſſeſs the dark regions of the weſt; the former attend, and favour the virtuous; and the latter, in like manner, accompany and have power over the vicious: on which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off ſeveral guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the laſt troubleſome neighbours: all the adjacent towns alſo on the occaſion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offenſive noiſe ſends off the ghoſts to their proper fixed place, till they return at ſome certain time, to repoſſeſs their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terreſtrial paradiſe. As they believe in God, ſo they firmly believe that there is a claſs of higher beings than men, and a future ſtate and exiſtence.

There are not greater bigots in Europe, nor perſons more ſuperſtitious, than the Indians, (eſpecially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil ſpirits. It is the chief ſubject of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and ſeveral of our traders, report very incredible and ſhocking ſtories. They will affirm that they have ſeen, and diſtinctly, moſt ſurprizing apparitions, and heard horrid ſhrieking noiſes. They pretend, it was impoſſible for all their ſenſes to be deluded at the ſame time; eſpecially at *Okmulge*, the old waſte town, belonging to the *Muſkohge*, 150 miles S. W. of Auguſta in Georgia, which the South-Carolinians deſtroyed about the year 1715. They ſtrenuouſly aver, that when neceſſity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the uſual noiſe of Indians ſinging their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themſelves, and then returning to the old town-houſe: with a great deal more to the ſame effect. Whenever I have been there, however, all hath been ſilent. Our noiſy bacchanalian company might indeed have drowned the noiſe with a greater of their own. But as I have gone the tedious Chikkaſah war path, through one continued deſart, day and night, much oftener than any of the reſt of the traders, and alone, to the Chikkaſah country, ſo none of thoſe frightful ſpirits ever appeared to, nor any tremendous noiſe alarmed me. But they ſay this was "becauſe I am an obdurate infidel that way."

The Hebrews ſeem to have entertained notions pretty much reſembling the Indian opinions on this head, from ſome paſſages in their rabbins, and which they ground even on the ſcriptures [*]. We read *Iſa.* xiii. 21. "But wild beaſts of the deſart ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there [†]."

Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Iſhtohoollo*, "concomitant holy ſpirits," or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuſcade, which muſt have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and ſeemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulſe, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, eſcaped the crafty, purſuing enemy. Similar to this, was the opinion of many of the Jews, and ſeveral of the ancient and refined heathens, and is the ſentiment of moderns, that intimations of this kind, for man's preſervation and felicity, proceed from God by the inſtrumentality of good angels, or ſuperior inviſible beings, which he employs for that purpoſe—who can ſo impreſs the imagination, and influence the mind, as to follow the ſuggeſtions, but not ſo as to deſtroy the liberty of the will.—Thus Homer introduces Minerva as ſuggeſting what was proper for the perſons ſhe favoured—and other ſuperior beings; but they deliberated on the counſel, and choſe that which appeared to be right.

ARGUMENT V.

The *Indian language*, and *dialects*, appear to have the very idiom and genius of the *Hebrew*. Their words and ſentences are expreſſive, conciſe, emphatical, ſonorous, and bold—and often, both in letters and ſignification, ſynonymous with the Hebrew language. It is a common and old remark, that there is no language, in which ſome Hebrew words are not to be found. Probably *Hebrew* was the firſt, and only language, till diſtance of time and place introduced a change, and then ſoon followed a mixture of others. The accidental poſition of the characters, might alſo coincide with ſome Hebrew words, in various dialects, without the leaſt intention. As the true pronunciation of the Hebrew characters, is loſt in a conſiderable degree, it is too difficult a taſk, for a ſkilful Hebraiſt, to aſcertain a ſatisfactory identity of language, between the Jews, and American Aborigines; much more ſo to an Indian trader, who profeſſes but a ſmall acquaintance with the Hebrew, and that acquired by his own application. However, I will endeavour to make up the deficiency of *Hebrew*, with a plenty of good ſolid *Indian roots.*

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[*] Lev. xix. 31. 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, &c. Iſa. viii. 19.

[†] Bochart ſuppoſes that *tſiim* ſignify *wild cats*; and that אחים is not any particular creature, but the crying or howling of wild beaſts. His opinion is confirmed by many judicious writers.

The Indian nouns have neither caſes nor declenſions. They are invariably the ſame, through both numbers, after the Hebrew manner. In their verbs, they likewiſe ſometimes uſe the preterperfect, inſtead of the preſent tenſe of the indicative mood; as *Blahſas Aiahre, Apeeſahre,* "Yeſterday I went and ſaw;" and *Eemmako Aiahre, Apeeſahre,* "Now I go and ſee." Like the Hebrews, they have no comparative, or ſuperlative degree. They expreſs a preference, by the oppoſite extremes; as *Chekuſteene,* "You are virtuous;" *Sahakſe,* "I am vicious." But it implies a comparative degree, and ſignifies, "You are more virtuous than I am." By prefixing the adverbs, which expreſs *little,* and *much,* to the former words, it conveys the ſame meaning; the former of which is agreeable to the Hebrew idiom. And a double repetition of the ſame adjective, makes a ſuperlative, according to the Hebrew manner; as *Lawwa, Lawwa,* "moſt, or very many." To add *hah* to the end of an adjective, unleſs it is a noun of multitude like the former, makes it alſo a ſuperlative; as *Hakſe to hah,* "They are moſt, or very wicked." *Hakſe* ſignifies vicious, probably when the vicious part of the Iſraelites were under the hand of the corrector, the judge repeated that word: *ta,* is a note of plurality, and *hah* an Hebrew accent of admiration; which makes it a ſuperlative. To join the name of God, or the leading vowel of the myſterious, great, divine name, to the end of a noun, likewiſe implies a ſuperlative; as *Hakſe-iſhto,* or *Hakſe-o,* "He, or ſhe, is very wicked." The former method of ſpeech exactly agrees with the Hebrew idiom; as the original text ſhews, in innumerable inſtances.

When the Hebrews compare two things, and would ſignify a parity between them, they double the particle of reſemblance; "I am as thou art; and my people as thy people:" And the Indians, on account of that original defective ſtandard of ſpeech, are forced to uſe the like circumlocution; as *Che Ahōba ſia*, "I am like you;" and *Sahottuk Chehottuk tooah*, &c. for *Hottuk* ſignifies people, and the *S* expreſſes the pronoun my, or mine: and it likewiſe changes an active, into a paſſive verb. Although this Indian and Hebrew method of ſpeech, is rather tedious and defective, yet, at the ſame time, they who attain any tolerable ſkill in the dialects of the one, and language of the other, will diſcover the ſenſe plain enough, when a compariſon is implied.

There is not, perhaps, any one language or ſpeech, except the Hebrew, and the Indian American, which has not a great many prepoſitions. The Indians, like the Hebrews, have none in ſeparate and expreſs words. They are forced to join certain characters to words, in order to ſupply that great defect. The Hebrew conſonants, called *ſerviles*, were tools to ſupply the place of the prepoſitions. The Indians, for want of a ſufficient number of radical words, are forced to apply the ſame noun and verb, to ſignify many things of a various nature. With the Cheerake, *Eeankke*, ſignifies a *priſoner*, *captive*, *ſlave*, *awl*, *pin*, *needle*, &c.; which occaſions the Indian dialects to be very difficult to ſtrangers. The Jewiſh Rabbins tell us, that the Hebrew language contains only a few more than a thouſand primitive words, of which their whole language is formed. So that the ſame word very often denotes various, though not contrary things. But there is one radical meaning, which will agree to every ſenſe that word is uſed in.

By cuſtom, a Hebrew noun frequently ſupplied the place of a pronoun; by which means, it cauſed a tedious, and ſometimes an ambiguous circumlocution. From this original defective ſtandard of ſpeech, the Indians have forgotten all their pronouns, except two primitives and two relatives; as, *Anòwah*, *Ego*, and *Iſhna*, *Tu*: the latter bears a great many ſignifications, both as ſingular and plural, viz. *Eeàpa* and *Eeàko*; which ſignify he, ſhe, this, that, &c.: And they are likewiſe adverbs of place; as here, there, &c. הוא *Hewa*, ſignifies he or ſhe; אני *Ani*, we; and אנו, *Anowa*, he, ſhe, him, her, &c.

The Hebrew language frequently uſes hyperboles, or magnifying numbers, to denote a long ſpace of time: the Indians, accordingly, apply the words, *Neetak akroohah*, "all days," or, in other words, "for ever," to a long ſeries of years. With the Jews, ſitting, ſignified dwelling; and, with the Indians, it is the very ſame; for, when they aſk a perſon where he dwells, they ſay, *Katèmuk Iſhbeneele* (*chuak ?*), which is literally, "where do you ſit?" And when they call us irreligious, they ſay *Nāna U-bat*, "*No thing*," or literally, "a relation to nothing;" for *Nāna* ſignifies a relation: and the other is always a negative adverbial period; which ſeems alſo to proceed from a religious cuſtom of the Hebrews, in giving deſpicable borrowed names to idols; as to בעלים, Baalim, "Particles of air," meaning, *nothing*. To which the Pſalmiſt alludes, ſaying, "I will not take up their names in my lips." And St. Paul ſays, "We know that an idol is *nothing*." This expreſſion the Indians apply, in a pointed metaphor, to the white people, but never to each other.

Like the Hebrews, they ſeldom, if ever, double the liquid conſonant *R*; for they generally ſeem deſirous of ſhuffling over it, at any rate: And they often give it the ſound of *L*; but, if it precedes a word, where the other conſonant ſoon follows, they always give it its proper ſound, contrary to the uſage of the Chineſe: as the name of a ſtone, they often call, *Table*, inſtead of *Tahrè*; but the Indians ſay, "*Tahre lakkàna*, literally, "Yellow ſtone," *i. e.* gold.

The Hebrews ſubjoined one of their ſerviles, to words, to expreſs the pronoun relative, *thy* or *thine:* And as that particle was alſo a note of reſemblance, it ſhews the great ſterility of that language. As a ſpecimen—They ſaid אביך, (Abiche) "your father," and אמך, (Ameche) "Your mother," &c. Only that the Hebrew period is initial, in ſuch a caſe, to the Indian nouns, they always uſe the very ſame method of expreſſion. This I ſhall illuſtrate with two words in the dialects of the Chikkaſah and Cheerake—as *Chinge* and *Chatokta*, "your father;" *Angge* and *Aketohta* ſignifying "my father," in reſemblance of אב, *Abba*, of the ſame import; likewiſe *Chiſhke* and *Chacheeah*, "your mother;" for *Saſke* and *Akachee* ſignify "my mother," in imitation of אשה, *Aſhe*. Alſo *Sas Kiſh* ſignifies podex meus, *Chiſh Kiſh*, podex tuus, and *Kiſh Kiſh*, podex illius; which I gueſs to be an opprobrious alluſion to Kiſh the father of Saul, for the ſon's aſſuming the throne at the end of the Jewiſh theocracy. In their adjectives and verbs, they uſe the ſame method of ſpeech; as *Nahoorèſo Chin-Chookoma*, "Your book is good." The former word is compounded of נא (*Na*) now, or the preſent time, and *Hoorèſo*, delineated, marked, or painted. *Aia* ſignifies *to go*, and *Maia-Cha*, "Go along," or *Maia*, the ſame; for, by prefixing מ to it, it implies a requiſite obedience. In like manner, *Apeeſah*, to ſee, and *Peeſàcha*, look, or "ſee you." And, when that particle is prefixed to a verb, it always expreſſes the accuſative caſe of the ſame pronoun; as *Chepeeſahre*, "I ſaw you," and *Chepeeſahras*, "I ſhall ſee you." Each of the Hebrew characters are radicals; although half of them are *ſerviles*, according to that proper term of the ſcholiaſts; for, when they are prefixed, inſerted, or ſubjoined, either at the beginning, middle, or end of a radical word, *they ſerve* to form its various augments, inflexions, and derivatives. According to this difficult ſtandard of ſpeech, the Indian nouns, moods, and tenſes, are variouſly formed to expreſs different things. As there is no other known language or dialect, which has the ſame tedious, narrow, and difficult principles; muſt we not conſider them to be twin-born ſiſters? The want of proper ſkill to obſerve the original fixed idea of the Indian words, their radical letters, and the due ſounds in each of them, ſeems to have been the only reaſon why the writers on the American Aborigines, have not exhibited the true and genuine properties of any one of their dialects; as they are all uniform in principle: ſo far at leaſt, as an extenſive acquaintance reaches.

The Hebrew nouns are either derived from verbs, or both of them are one and the ſame; as ברכה, (Beroche) "Bleſſing," from ברך, (Beroch) "to bleſs," and דבר דבר, (Dabar Daber) "he ſpoke the ſpeech." This proper name ſignifies "loquacious," like the Indian *Sekàkee*, ſignifying the "graſshopper." The Indian method of expreſſion, exactly agrees with that Hebrew mode of ſpeech; for they ſay *Anumbōle Anumbole* (*kis*) "I ſpake the ſpeaking;" and *Anumbole Enumbole* (*kis*), "he ſpoke the ſpeaking, or ſpeech." And by inſerting the name of God between theſe two words, their meaning is the very ſame with thoſe two firſt Hebrew words. I ſhall ſubjoin another word of the ſame ſort—*Hookſeelèta* ſignifies "a ſhutting inſtrument;" and they ſay *Iſhtookſeelèta*, or *Hookſeelèta*, *Iſh-hookſeetas*, or *Hookſeetà Cha*, "You ſhall, or, ſhut you the door." Their period of the laſt word, always denotes the ſecond perſon ſingular of the imperative mood;

and that of the other preceding it, either the firſt or ſecond perſon ſingular of the indicative mood; which is formed ſo by a fixed rule, on account of the variegating power of the ſerviles, by affixing, inferting, or ſuffixing them, to any root. According to the uſage of the Hebrews, they always place the accuſative caſe alſo before the verb; as in the former Indian words.

With the Hebrews, תפלח ſignified "a prayer," or a religious invocation, derived from פלח, Phelac, "to pray to, or invoke the Deity." In a ſtrong reſemblance thereof, when the Indians are performing their ſacred dance, with the eagles tails, and with great earneſtneſs invoking *Yo He Wah* to bleſs them with ſucceſs and proſperity, *Phale* ſignifies, "waving," or invoking by waving, *Iſhphāle*, you wave, *Phalècha*, wave you, *Aphalàle*, I waved, *Aphalèlas*, I will wave, &c. Pſalmodiſts ſeem to have borrowed the notes *fa*, *la*, from the aforeſaid Hebrew words of praying, ſinging to, or invoking Elohim. פעל, (Phoole) "to work," is evidently drawn from the former Hebrew word, which ſignifies to invoke (and probably to wave the feathers of the cherubic eagle before) *Yo He Wah*. The greateſt part of the Levitical method of worſhipping, conſiſted in laborious mechanical exerciſes, much after the Indian manner; which the popiſh prieſts copy after, in a great many inſtances, as pulling off their clothes, and putting on others; imagining that the Deity is better pleaſed with perſons who variegate their external appearances, like Proteus, than with thoſe who worſhip with a ſteady, ſincere diſpoſition of mind; beſides a prodigious group of other ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which are often ſhamefully blended with thoſe of the old pagans.

As the Hebrew word נא, *Na*, ſignifies the preſent time—ſo when the Indians deſire a perſon to receive ſomething from them ſpeedily, they ſay, *Nà* (ſhort and gutturally) *eeſcha*, "take it, now." He replies *Unta*, or *Omeh*, which are good-natured affirmatives. The pronoun relative, "you," which they term *Iſhna*, is a compounded Hebrew word, ſignifying (by application) the perſon preſent, or "you."

With the Hebrews, הר הר, *Hara Hara*, ſignifies, "moſt, or very, hot;" the repetition of the word makes it a ſuperlative. In a ſtrict reſemblance of that word, and mode of ſpeech, when an Indian is baffled by any of their humorous wits, he ſays, in a loud jeſting manner, *Hara Hara*, or *Hala Hala*, according to their capacity of pronouncing the liquid *R*: and it ſignifies, "you are very hot upon me:" their word, which expreſſes "ſharp," conveys the idea of bitter-heartedneſs with them; and that of bitterneſs they apply only to the objects of taſte.

With the Cheerake, Chikkaſah, and Choktah Indians, *Nannè* ſignifies "a hill:" and *Nannéh*, with the two laſt-mentioned nations, "a fiſh;" and *Unchàba*, "a mountain." But they call an alligator, or crocodile, *Nannéh Chunchàba*, literally, "the fiſh like a mountain;" which the Engliſh language would abbreviate into the name of a mountain-fiſh; but, inſtead of a hyphen, they uſe the Hebrew כ, a note of reſemblance, which ſeems to point at the language from which they derived it. In like manner, *Aà* ſignifies to walk, and *Eette*, wood; but *Eette Chanáa*, any kind of wheel; which is conſonant to the aforeſaid Hebrew idiom; with many others of the like nature: but a ſpecimen of this ſort muſt ſuffice.

The Hebrew and Indian words, which expreſs delineating, writing, decyphering, marking, and painting, convey the ſame literal meaning in both languages; as *Exod.* xvii. 14. כתב שפר (*Chethéba Sephåre*) "delineate this with delineations;" and, with the Indians, *Hoorèſo* is, in like manner, the radical name of books, delineating, &c.; and *Ootehna* that for numbering, inſtead of reading. The neareſt approach they can make to it, is, *Anumbōle boorèſo Iſhanumbōlas*, "You ſhall ſpeak the ſpeech, which is delineated."

They call a razor, *Baſpoo Shaphe*, "A ſhaving knife:" and *Shaphe* always ſignifies to ſhave; probably, becauſe when they firſt began to ſhave themſelves, they were ridiculed by the higher, or more religious part of the people, for imitating that heatheniſh cuſtom. The Hebrew שפה (*Shaphe*) ſignifying lip, confeſſion, or worſhip; which divine writ aſſures us, the deſcendants of Noah changed, when they oppoſed the divine will of ſettling various parts of the earth, and built the great tower of Babel, as an emblem of greatneſs, to get them a name *.

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* *Skin* ſignifies an eye; and *Skeeſhăpha*, one-eyed; as if proceeding from the divine anger. They often change *i* into *ee*.

Loak ſignifies fire, and *Loak Iſhtohoollo*, "the holy or divine fire," or the anger of Iſhtohoollo, "the great, holy One;" which nearly agrees with the Hebrew לחט, that which flames, or ſcorches with vehement heat. And it is the ſcripture method of conveying to us a ſenſible idea of the divine wrath, according to the cherubic name אש, which likewiſe ſignifies fire. But the Perſians worſhipped the burning fire, by the name of *Oromazes*; and darkneſs, or the ſpirit, by that of *Aramanius*; quite contrary to the religious ſyſtem of the Indian Americans: and the aforeſaid Indian method of expreſſion, ſeems exactly to coincide with the Hebrew idiom.

Buk-ſhe-ah-ma is the name of their Indian flap, or broad flip of cloth with which the men cover their nakedneſs; but the word they uſe to expreſs our ſort of breeches, is a compound, *Balaphooka*, derived from the Hebrew באל, which ſignifies, behind; and the Indian *Naphooka*, a coat, any kind of clothes, or covering; *Baloka* ſignifies, behind; ſilently telling us, they formerly wore a different ſort of breeches to what they uſe at preſent. They likewiſe ſay, *Neeppe-Phú-ka*, "A fleſh-covering."

The father of King Saul was called Kiſh, "podex;" which ſignifies alſo the rear of an army, or the hindermoſt perſon, according to the Hebrew idiom. Thus the Indians, by *Kiſh*, expreſs the podex of any animal—the hindermoſt perſon—the gavel-end of an houſe, and the like. *Kiſh Kiſh*, is with them a ſuperlative, and, as before hinted, uſed to convey the contempt they have for that proper name. May not the contemptible idea the Weſt-Florida-Miſſiſippi Indians affix to the name of Kiſh, be on account of his ſon's ſucceſſion to the throne, at the end of the theocracy of Iſrael, and beginning a deſpotic regal government?

The Indians, according to the uſage of the Hebrews, always prefix the ſubſtantive to the adjective; as *Netak Chookòma*, "A good day;" *Nakkàne* and *Eho Chookòma*, "A good, or goodly man and woman." The former of which is termed, in Hebrew, *Yoma Tobe*, ſignifying, according to our method of ſalutation, a good-day, a merry ſeaſon, a feſtival day, &c. And the Indian appellatives are ſimilarly expreſt in Hebrew, *Behtobe* and *Aſhe-Tobe*, "A good, goodly, diſcreet, or wiſe man and woman." *Chookòma*, with the Indians, is the proper name of a comely woman, when *A* is prefixed to it; as *A-chookòma*, "My goodly, or beautiful:" they uſe it for a warrior, when it is compounded without the *A*; as *Chookoma hummáſhtàbe*, "One who killed a beautiful, great, red, or war-chieftain;" which is compounded of *Chookoma*, comely, *Humma*, red, אש, *Aſh*, fire, and *Abe*, a contraction of אבל, *Abele*, ſignifying grief, or ſorrow. Hence it appears, that becauſe the Hebrews affixed a virtuous idea to *Tobe*, goodly; the Indians call white by the ſame name, and make it the conſtant emblem of every thing that is good, according to a ſimilar Hebrew cuſtom. Of this the ſacred oracles make frequent mention.

The Jews called that, which was the moſt excellent of every thing, the *fat*; and the Indians, in like manner, ſay, *Ooſto Neehe*, "The fat of the pompion," *Tranche Neehe*, "The fat of the corn. *Neeha* is the adjective, ſignifying *fat*, from which the word *Neeta*, "a bear," is derived. They apply the word *heart*, only to animate beings.

As the Deity is the ſoul of every ſyſtem — and as every nation, from the remoteſt ages of antiquity, believed that they could not live well, without ſome god or other; when, therefore, we clearly underſtand the name, or names, by which any ſociety of people expreſs their notions of a deity, we can with more preciſion form ideas of the nature of their religious worſhip, and of the object, or objects, of their adoration. I ſhall therefore here give a plain deſcription of the names by which the Indian Americans ſpeak of God.

Iſhtohoollo is an appellative for God. Iſhtohoollo points at the greatneſs, purity, and goodneſs, of the Creator in forming איש and אישא: it is derived from *Iſhto*, GREAT, which was the uſual name of God through all the prophetic writings; likewiſe, from the preſent tenſe of the infinitive mood of the active verb, *Ahoollo*, "I love," and from the preter tenſe of the paſſive verb, *Hoollo*, which ſignifies "ſanctifying, ſanctified, divine, or holy." Women ſet apart, they term, *Hoollo*, *i. e.* ſanctifying themſelves to Iſhtohoollo: likewiſe, *Netakhoollo* ſignifies "a ſanctified, divine, or holy day;" and, in like manner, *Ookka Hoollo*, "water ſanctified," &c. So that, *Iſhtohoollo*, when applied to God, in its true radical meaning, imports, "The great, beloved, holy Cauſe;" which is exceedingly comprehenſive, and more expreſſive of the true nature of God, than the Hebrew name *Adonai*, which is applicable to a human being. Whenever the

Indians apply the epithet, compounded, to any of their own religious men, it ſignifies the great, holy, beloved, and ſanctified men of the Holy One.

They make this divine name point yet more ſtrongly to the ſupreme author of nature; for, as אב, ſignifies father; and as the omnipreſent Spirit of the univerſe, or the holy father of mankind, is ſaid to dwell above, they therefore call the immenſe ſpace of the heavens, *Aba*, *Abáſe*, and *Abatàra*: and, to diſtinguiſh the King of kings, by his attributes, from their own *Minggo Iſhto*, or great chieftains, they frequently name him *Minggo Iſhto Aba*, &c.; *Iſhto Aba*, &c.; *Minggo Aba*, &c.; and, when they are ſtriving to move the paſſions of the audience, *Iſhtohoollo Aba*. The Hebrew ſervants were not allowed to call their maſter or miſtreſs אב, *Abba*, till they were adopted; to which cuſtom St. Paul alludes, *Rom.* viii. 15.

They have another appellative, which with them is the myſterious, eſſential name of God—the *tetragrammaton*, or great four-lettered name—which they never mention in common ſpeech,—of the time and place, when, and where, they mention it, they are very particular, and always with a ſolemn air.

There is a ſpecies of tea, that grows ſpontaneouſly, and in great plenty, along the ſea-coaſt of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, which we call *Yopon*, or *Cuſſeena*: the Indians tranſplant, and are extremely fond of it; they drink it on certain ſtated occaſions, and in their moſt religious ſolemnities, with awful invocations: but the women, and children, and thoſe who have not ſuccefsfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the ſacred ſquare, when they are on this religious duty; otherwiſe, they would be dry ſcratched with ſnakes teeth, fixed in the middle of a ſplit reed, or piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to ſupple the ſtiffened ſkin.

When this beloved liquid, or ſuppoſed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their *Magi* brings two old conſecrated, large conch-ſhells, out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the ſuppoſed ſanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white ſeats, (which the traders call the war, and beloved cabbins) ſtooping with their heads and bodies pretty low; advancing a few ſteps in this poſture, they carry their ſhells with both hands, at an inſtant, to one of the moſt principal men on thoſe red and white ſeats, ſaying, on a baſs key, Y'AH, quite ſhort: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms acroſs, rather below their breaſt, and their eyes half ſhut; thus, in a very grave, ſolemn manner, they ſing on a ſtrong baſs key, the awful monoſyllable, O, for the ſpace of a minute: then they ſtrike up majeſtic HE, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a baſs key, with a bold voice, and ſhort accent, they at laſt utter the ſtrong myſterious ſound, WAH, and thus finiſh the great ſong, or moſt ſolemn invocation of the divine eſſence. The notes together compoſe their ſacred, myſterious name, Y-O-HE-WAH.

That this ſeems to be the true Hebrew pronunciation of the divine eſſential name, יהוה, JEHOVAH, will appear more obvious from the ſound they ſeem to have given their characters. The Greeks, who chiefly copied their alphabet from the Hebrew, had not *jod*, but *ιοτα*, very nearly reſembling the ſound of our *Y*. The ancient Teutonic and Sclavonian dialects, have *Yah* as an affirmative, and uſe the conſonant *W* inſtead of *V*. The high importance of the ſubject, neceſſarily would lead theſe ſuppoſed red Hebrews, when ſeparated from other people in America, to continue to repeat the favourite name of God, YO HE WAH, according to the ancient pronunciation.

Contrary to the uſage of all the ancient heathen world, the American Indians not only name God by ſeveral ſtrong compounded appellatives, expreſſive of many of his divine attributes, but likewiſe ſay YAH at the beginning of their religious dances, with a bowing poſture of body; then they ſing YO YO, HE HE, and repeat thoſe ſacred notes, on every religious occaſion: the religious attendants calling to YAH to enable them humbly to ſupplicate, ſeems to point to the Hebrew cuſtom of pronouncing, יה, *Yah*, which likewiſe ſignifies the divine eſſence. It is well known what ſacred regard the Jews had to the four-lettered divine name, ſo as ſcarcely ever to mention it, but once a year, when the high-prieſt went into the holy ſanctuary, at the expiation of ſins. Might not the Indians copy from them, this ſacred invocation? Their method of invoking God, in a ſolemn hymn, with that reverential deportment, and ſpending a full breath on each of the two firſt ſyllables of the awful divine name, hath a ſurprizing analogy to the Jewiſh cuſtom, and ſuch as no other nation or people, even with the advantage of written records, have retained.

It may be worthy of notice, that they never proſtrate themſelves, nor bow their bodies, to each other, by way of ſalute, or homage, though uſual with the eaſtern nations, except when they are making or renewing peace with ſtrangers, who come in the name of YAH; then they bow their bodies in that religious ſolemnity—but they always bow in their religious dances, becauſe then they ſing what they call divine hymns, chiefly compoſed of the great, beloved, divine name, and addreſſed to YO HE WAH. The favoured perſons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine eſſence to bleſs, hold up the ſhells with both hands, to their mouths, during the awful ſacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to ſpirt out on the ground, as a ſuppoſed drink-offering to the great ſelf-exiſtent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at thoſe times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious obſervance, they would reckon us as godleſs and wild as the wolves of the deſart*. After the ſame manner, the ſuppoſed holy waiters proceed, from the higheſt to the loweſt, in their ſynedrion: and, when they have ended that awful ſolemnity, they go round the whole ſquare, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the ſanctified ſinners, according to ancient cuſtom; "For they who ſerve at the altar, muſt live by the altar."

The Cheerake method of adjuring a witneſs to declare the truth, ſtrongly corroborates the former hints, and will ſerve as a key to open the vowels of the great, myſterious, four-lettered name of God. On ſmall affairs, the judge, who is an elderly chieftain, aſks the witneſs, *Cheeakōhgà (ſko?)* "Do you lie?" To which he anſwers, *Anſa Kai-e-koh-gà,* "I do not lie." But when the judge will ſearch into ſomething of material conſequence, and adjures the witneſs to ſpeak the naked truth, concerning the point in queſtion, he ſays "O E A *(ſko?)*" "What you have now ſaid, is it true, by this ſtrong emblem of the beloved name of the great ſelf-exiſtent God?" To which the witneſs replies, O E A, "It is true, by this ſtrong pointing ſymbol of YO He Wah." When the true knowledge of the affair in diſpute, ſeems to be of very great importance, the judge ſwears the witneſs thus: O E A—Yah *(ſko?)* This moſt ſacred adjuration imports, "Have you now told me the real truth by the lively type of the great awful name of God, which deſcribes his neceſſary exiſtence, without beginning or end; and by his ſelf-exiſtent literal name, in which I adjure you." The witneſs anſwers, O E A—Yah, "I have told you the naked truth, which I moſt ſolemnly ſwear, by this ſtrong religious picture of the adorable, great, divine, ſelf-exiſtent name, which we are not to prophane; and I likewiſe atteſt it, by his other beloved, unſpeakable, ſacred, eſſential name."

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* The Moſaic law injoined the offering of libations; as *Exod.* xxix. and *Numb.* xv. And the heathens, eſpecially the ancient Greeks and Romans, mimicked a great deal of the Moſaic inſtitution. They obſerved the like ceremonies in their idolatrous ſacrifices. The prieſts only taſted, and then ſpilt ſome wine, milk, or other liquor, in honour of the Deity, to whom the ſacrifice was offered. Alexander is ſaid to have ſacrificed a bull to Neptune, and to have thrown a golden veſſel uſed for the libation, into the ſea.

When we conſider that the period of the adjurations, according to their idiom, only aſks a queſtion; and that the religious waiters ſay Yah, with a profound reverence, in a bowing poſture of body, immediately before they invoke YO He Wah,—the one reflects ſo much light upon the other, as to convince me, that the Hebrews, both invoked and pronounced the divine tetragrammaton, YO He Wah, and adjured their witneſſes to give true evidence, on certain occaſions, according to the Indian uſage; otherwiſe, how could they poſſibly, in a ſavage ſtate, have a cuſtom of ſo nice and ſtrong-pointing a ſtandard of religious caution? It ſeems exactly to coincide with the conduct of the Hebrew witneſſes even now on the like religious occaſions—who being ſworn, by the name of the great living God, openly to declare the naked truth, hold up their right hand, and anſwer, אמנ אמנ, *Amen Amen*, or "very true;" "I am a moſt faithful witneſs." The Hebrew word ſignifies faithful, and by being repeated twice, becomes a ſuperlative, and O E A—Yah is one of the higheſt degree.

St. John, in his goſpel, according to the Hebrew method of adjuration, often doubles the *Amen*. And the ſame divine writer, at the beginning of each of his ſeven epiſtles, in deſcribing the glorious and tranſcendant qualities of Jeſus Chriſt, and particularly in the epiſtle to the church of Laodicea, points at the ſame cuſtom, "Theſe things ſaith the *Amen*, the faithful and true witneſs, the beginning of the creation of God."

The Cheerake uſe another expreſſion, which bears a ſtrong analogy to the former method of adjuration; though it is not ſo ſacred in their opinion, becauſe of one letter prefixed, and another ſubjoined. The judge, in ſmall controverſies, aſks the witneſs, *To e u (ſko?)* To which he anſwers, *To e u*, or *To e u hah*, "It is very true," or "a moſt certain truth." Such an addition of any letter, or letters, to the vowels of the ſuppoſed divine, four-lettered name, ſeems to proceed from a ſtrict religious cuſtom of proportioning them to the circumſtances of perſons and things, leſt, otherwiſe, they ſhould blaſpheme, or prophane the emblems of the great divine name. And the vowel *U* ſeems to allude to אחד, *i. e.* ONE—a name of God, figuratively—for, in their dialect, when it is a period, it makes a ſuperlative, according to their uſage in applying the reſt of the divine appellatives, ſymbols, or names.

They eſteem *To e u hah* ſo ſtrong an aſſent to any thing ſpoken, that *Cheeſto Kaiĕhre*, "the old rabbet," (the name of the interpreter) who formerly accompanied ſeven of their head warriors to London, aſſured me, they held there a very hot debate, in their ſubterranean lodgings, in the dead hours of the night of September the 7th, 1730, whether they ſhould not kill him, and one of the war-chieftains, becauſe, by his mouth, the other anſwered *To e u hah* to his Majeſty's ſpeech, wherein he claimed, not only their land, but all the other unconquered countries of the neighbouring nations, as his right and property. When they returned home, they were tried again, by the national ſanhedrim, for having betrayed the public faith, and ſold their country, for acknowledged value, by firm compact, as repreſentatives of their country; they having received a certain quantity of goods, and a decoying belt of white wampum: but, upon ſerious deliberation, they were honourably acquitted, becauſe it was judged, the interpreter was bound, by the like oath, to explain their ſpeeches; and that ſurpriſe, inadvertence, ſelf-love, and the unuſual glittering ſhow of the courtiers, extorted the ſacred aſſent, *To e u hah*, out of the other's mouth, which ſpoiled the force of it; being much afraid, leſt they ſhould ſay ſomething amiſs, on account of the different idiom of the Engliſh, and Indian American dialects *. As there is no alternative between a falſhood, and a lie, they uſually tell any perſon, in plain language, "You lie," as a friendly negative to his reputed untruth. The cheerful, inoffenſive *old rabbet* told me, he had urged to them, with a great deal of earneſtneſs, that it was certain death by our laws, to give his Majeſty the lie to his face; and cautioned them to guard their mouths very ſtrongly from uttering ſuch dangerous language: otherwiſe, their hearts would become very heavy, and even ſorrowful to death; as he would be bound as firmly by our holy books, to relate the bare naked truth, as they were by repeating *To e u ah*, or even O-E-A—YAH.

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* The ſtrong ſentiments, natural wit, and intenſe love of liberty, which the Indians ſhew themſelves poſſeſſed of, in a high degree, ſhould direct our coloniſts to purſue a different method

The Chikkaſah and Choktah method of adjuring a witneſs to give true evidence, is ſomething ſimilar to the former atteſtation, by *To e u hah:* when they aſk them, whether they do not lie, they adjure them thus, *Chiklooſka ke-e-u Chua?* The termination implies a queſtion of the ſecond perſon, ſingular number, and the whole oath ſignifies literally, "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain truth?" To which he anſwers by two ſtrong negative aſſeverations, *Aklooſka Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth." When the Choktah are averring any thing aſked of them, they aſſert it, by ſaying YAH. This ſhews their ignorance of the vowels of the ſuppoſed divine four-lettered name, in compariſon of the Cheerake; and that they are become leſs religious, by prophaning the divine name, YAH; which confirms me in the opinion, that the Cheerake Indians were a more civilized people than any of the other neighbouring Indians.

We are told that the northern Indians, in the time of their rejoicings, repeat YO HA HAN; which, if true, evinces that their corruption advances, in proportion as they are diſtant from South-America, and wanted a

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thod of contracting Indian covenants than they have commonly uſed. Firſt, let them conſider the general good of the community, who choſe them for that end; and then make a plain agreement with the Indians, adapted to their fixed notion of liberty, and the good of their country, without any deluding ſophiſms. If they do not keep theſe eſſential points of amity in view, we ſhall fare again, as hath Georgia; for, by a childiſh treaty with the Muſkohge Indians, when defeated An. 1715, its moſt northern boundaries are confined to the head of the ebbing and flowing of Savànnah river. We are ſaid to have flouriſhed off very commodious Indian treaties in the *council-books*, with the Muſkohge, which the community know nothing of, except a few plain common particulars, as they ſome years ſince declared.

friendly intercourſe with thoſe who had an open communication with thoſe ſouthern regions *. Living in moderate high latitudes, would naturally prevent them from ſinking into effeminacy, and inſpire them with martial tempers, (as we are told of the Chili Indians) without being originally a bloodier people than any of the ſouthern nations. However, we ſhould be ſparing of credit to what unſkilful writers have carefully copied from each other, and tranſmitted to the learned world.

I ſhall hereafter, under another argument, ſhew, that the Indians variouſly tranſpoſe, ſhorten, and lengthen, each ſyllable of the great divine name, YO He Wah, in a very extraordinary manner, when they are ſinging and dancing to, and before, the divine eſſence: and that they commonly derive ſuch words as convey a virtuous idea, from, or compound them with that divine, eſſential name.

I ſhall now ſhew a farther parity, between the Hebrew language, and the Aboriginal American dialects.

Puſhkooſh ſignifies an infant, *Neetta* a bear, *Naſſooba* a wolf, &c.——By joining the word *Ooſhe*, to the end of the names of animals, it makes a diſtinction; as *Naſſoob-ooſhe*, a wolf-cub, *Neett'-ooſhe* a bear-cub: but though the word *Oophe* ſignifies a dog, as an exception to their general method of ſpeech, they call a puppy *Ooph-iſhik*, becauſe he is ſo domeſtic, or ſociable, as ישק, to kiſs, or fondle. In like manner, *Piſhi* ſignifies milk; and *Piſhik* a woman's breaſt, or the udder of any animal; as the young ones, by kiſſing, or ſucking, ſhade the breaſt, פי, with their mouth, and thereby receive their nouriſhment. With the Hebrews, עפך (*Oophecha*) ſignifies active, or reſtleſs: which, according to the Indian idiom, expreſſes the quality of a dog; *Oophe* is therefore the name of this animal, and their period denotes a ſimilarity, according to the uſage of the Hebrews.

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* They who have a deſire to ſee the genuine oratory of the Indians, may find it partly exhibited to the public, by the laborious Mr. Colden, moſtly in the manner, as I am told, he found it in the *council-books*. As that gentleman is an utter ſtranger to the language and cuſtoms of the Indians, it was out of his power to do juſtice to the original. Their ſpeech, in general, abounds with bolder tropes and figures than illiterate interpreters can well comprehend, or explain. In the moſt eſſential part of his copied work, he committed a very material blunder, by writing in the firſt edition, the Indian ſolemn invocation, YO Ha Han. I was well aſſured by the intelligent Sir William Johnſon, and the ſkilful, benevolent, pious, and reverend Mr. John Ogilvie, that the northern Indians always pronounce it YO He A 'Ah; and ſo it is inſerted in the ſecond edition. In juſtice to this valuable luminary of the church, and the worthy laity of the city of New-York, I muſt obſerve, that, while the reſt of his ſacerdotal brethren were much blamed for neglecting their office of teaching, and inſtead thereof, were militating for an *epiſcopate*, that gentleman was univerſally beloved by all ranks of people. He ſpent his time, like a true ſervant of God, in performing the various duties of his ſacred office; and had the utmoſt pleaſure in healing breaches, both in public ſociety, and in private families. Great numbers of the poor negroe ſlaves, were inſtructed by him in the principles of chriſtianity, while the other clergymen were earneſtly employed in diſturbing the quiet of the public, for the ſake of their favourite Peter's pence.

Shale and *Shatèra*, ſignify to carry, *Shapore*, a load. The former word conſiſts of *Sheth* and *Ale*. *Illeh* imports dead, and *Kaneha* loſt. They ſay *Shat Kaneha*, to carry a thing quite away, or to Canaan.—Likewiſe, *Illeht Kaneha*, literally, dead, and loſt, or probably, gone to Canaan. Several old Indian American towns are called *Kanāai*; and it hath been a prevailing notion with many Jews, that when any of their people died in a ſtrange land, they paſſed through the caverns of the earth, till they arrived at Canaan, their attractive centre. And the word *Oobèa*, likewiſe imports dead, or cut off by O E A, or *Yohewah*; for they firmly believe, as before hinted, they cannot outlive the time the Deity has preſcribed them. They likewiſe ſay, *Haſſe Ookklīlle Cheele*, "the ſun is, or has been, cauſed to die in the water," *i. e.* ſun-ſet. When they would ſay, "Do not obſcure, or darken me," they cry *Iſh-ookkīlle Chīnna*, verbatim, "Do not occaſion *Iſh*, me, to become like the ſun, dead in the water." They call the new moon, *Haſſe Awáhta*, "the moon is called upon to appear by Yohewah:" which plainly ſhews, that they believe the periodical revolutions of the moon to be cauſed, and the ſun every day to die, or be extinguiſhed in the ocean, by the conſtant laws of God. When we aſk them, if to-day's ſun is drowned in the weſtern ocean, how another can riſe out of the eaſtern ocean to-morrow? they only reply, *Pilla Yammi*, or *Yammi mung*; or ſuch is the way of God with his people. It ſeems to be a plain contraction of יה and אממי *Ammi*; which was the name of Iſrael during the theocracy. Beſides, *Aeemmi* ſignifies, "I believe;" as the peculiar people believed in Yohewah. And it likewiſe imports, "I am the owner of, &c."—according to the Hebrew idiom, the words and meaning nearly agree.

Eette ſignifies wood; and they term any kind of cheſt, box, or trunk, *Eette Oobe*; and frequently, *Oobe*; which ſeems to point to the "ark of the purifier," that was ſo fatal to the laity even to touch; a ſtrong emanation of the holy fire, light, and ſpirit, reſiding in it, as well as in that which the prieſts carried to war, againſt the devoted enemy.

The Chikkaſah ſettled a town, in the upper, or moſt weſtern part of the Muſkohge country, about 300 miles eaſtward of their own nation, and called it *Ooe-áſa*; which is derived from O E A, and *Aſa*, "there," or "here, is;" *i. e.* "YO He Wah preſides in this place." And, when a perſon is removing from his former dwelling, they aſk him, *Iſh-ooè-à* (*tūm?*) "are you removing hence, in the name, or under the patronage, of YO He Wah?" And it both ſignifies to aſcend, and remove to another place. As, O E A, Aba, the omnipreſent father of mankind, is ſaid to dwell above, ſo the Indian hopes to remove there from hence, by the bounty of Iſhtohoollo, the great holy One: according to their fixed ſtandard of ſpeech, had they made any nearer approach to O E A, the ſtrong religious emblem of the beloved four-lettered name, it would have been reckoned a prophanation.

Phutchik ſignifies a ſtar, and *Oonna* "he is arrived:" but *Phutchik Oonnache*, "the morning-ſtar;" becauſe he is the forerunner of light, and reſembles the ſun that reflects it. And *Oonna-hah* ſignifies to-morrow, or it is day. The termination denotes their gladneſs, that the divine light had viſited them again: and, when they are aſking if it is day, they ſay *Onna Hē* (*tak?*). The laſt monoſyllable only aſks a queſtion; and the fæminine gender treble note is the mid ſyllable of the great divine name—which may reflect ſome light upon the former obſervations.

Although the Hebrews had a proper name for the human ſoul, calling it נפש; yet in *Prov.* xx. 27, it is called נר יהוה, "The candle, or lamp of God;" and figuratively applied, it conveys a ſtrong idea of the human ſoul: Thus the Indians term it, *Nāna Iſhtohoollo*, "ſomething of, or a relation to, the great holy One;" very analogous to the former method of expreſſing the rational principle, in alluſion to the celeſtial cherubic name אש, *Aſhe*, Fire, as they believe the Deity reſides in the new year's, ſuppoſed holy fire. Becauſe *Iſh*, Man, received his breath from the divine inſpiration of the beneficent creator Yah, they term the human

ſpecies,

ſpecies, in their ſtrong-pointing language, *Yāhwè*; which, though different from the divine, eſſential, four-lettered name, in ſound has יה, Yah, for its radix. But, becauſe the monkey mimics *Yahweh*, or the rational creation, more than any other brute, in features, ſhape, geſture, and actions; in proportion to the ſimilitude, they give him a ſimilar name, *Shaw-we.* This indeed makes a near approach to *Iſh* and *Yah*, and to *Yahwe*; but it wants the radix of both, and conſequently bears no ſignification of relation to either. While they urge, that the regularity of the actions of the brute creatures around them, expreſſes a nice underſtanding or inſtinct; they deny their being endued with any portion of the reaſoning, and living principle, but bear only a faint alluſion to *Nana Iſhtohoollo*, the rational ſoul. The moſt intelligent among them, ſay the human ſoul was not made of clay, like the brute creation, whoſe ſoul is only a corporeal ſubſtance, attenuated by heat, and thus rendered inviſible.

Through a ſeeming war-contempt of each other, they all uſe a favourite termination to their adjectives, (very rarely to their ſubſtantives) and ſometimes to their verbs; eſpecially when they are flouriſhing away, in their rapid war-ſpeeches, which on ſuch occaſions they always repeat with great vehemence. I ſhall give a ſpecimen of two words, in the dialects of our ſouthern Indians. *RI* is the favourite period of the Katāhba Indians; as *Mare-r'i*, or *Wahre-r'i*, " Good," and *Maretawah-r'i*, or *Wahrètawàh-r'i*, " beſt," or very good; *Wah*, the laſt ſyllable of the great divine name, is evidently the radix, and magnifies the virtuous idea to a ſuperlative. In like manner, *Shegàre-Wahr'i*, " not bad," but *Sheekàre-r'i*, ſignifies " bad." With theſe Indians, *Sheeke* is the name of a buzzard, which they reckon to be a moſt impure fowl, as it lives on putrid carcaſſes; upon which account, they chooſe that word to convey a vicious idea.

Quo is the ſounding termination of the Cheerake; as *Seokſta-quo*, " good," —and *O-ſe-u*, " beſt," or very good. Here they ſeem to have ſtudiouſly choſen the vowels:—As the following words will illuſtrate, *Tonàte-ū*, " very honeſt," or virtuous, and *Y-O-U*, " Evil," or very bad. To corroborate the hints I gave, concerning the Indian names of monkey, and the human ſpecies, let it be obſerved, that though their words convey a virtuous or vicious idea, in proportion as they are conſtituted out of any of their three divine names, YOHEWAH, YAH, and ISHTOHOOLLO; or contain the vowels of the great ſacred name, yet the aforeſaid word Y-O-U, is ſo far from being a deviation from that general cuſtom, it is an emphatical, and emblematical term to expreſs evil, by the negative of good; for, as it is the only ſubſtantive or adjective of that word, it is a ſtrong expreſſive ſymbol of the nature, and phyſical cauſe of moral evil, by ſeparating *YO*, the firſt ſyllable of the divine four-lettered name into two ſyllables; and adding *U*, as a ſuperlative period, to make it *malum malorum*.

Shèh is the founding criterion of the Muſkohge, or Creek Indians,—a kind of cant jargon, for example; *Heettla-ſheh*, ſignifies "good," and *Heettla-wah-E-ſheh*, "very good;" according to their univerſal ſtandard of ſpeech, it becomes a ſuperlative, by ſubjoining that part of the divine name to it. With the Chikkaſah and Choktah, *Heettla* ſignifies dancing; probably becauſe that religious exerciſe was good and highly pleaſing to them, when, according to ancient cuſtom, they danced in their ſymbolical circles, to, and before, YO HE WAH. With the former, *Apullowhage-ſheh*, expreſſes "bad," or evil, thereby inverting the divine letters.

Skèh is the favourite termination of the Chikkaſah and Choktah—as *Chookòma-ſkeh*, "good," *Chookòmaſto-ſkeh* (alluding to *Iſhto*) "very good;" and *Ookproo-ſkeh*, "bad." Likewiſe, *Ookprooſto*, "worſt," or very bad; for, by annexing the contracted initial part of the divine name, *Iſhtohoollo*, to the end of it, it is a ſuperlative. Theſe remarks may be of ſervice to the inhabitants of our valuable and extenſive barriers, in order to diſcover the national name of thoſe ſavages, who now and then cut them off.

Ookproo-ſe, with thoſe Indians, ſignifies "accurſed;" the two laſt letters make only a *ſamech*, which implies a neuter paſſive: and, as *Ookproo* is the only ſubſtantive or adjective they uſe to expreſs "evil," by doubling the leading vowel of the four-lettered divine name, both at the beginning and end of the word; may we not conjecture at its origin, as glancing at the introduction of ſin or evil by man's overacting, or innovating, through a too curious knowledge, or choice? "Ye ſhall be as gods," and, in order to gain the reſemblance, they ate what was forbidden.

The greater number of their compounded words, (and, I believe, every one of them) which convey a virtuous or pure idea, either have ſome ſyllables of the three divine names, or viſibly glance at them; or have one or two vowels of the ſacred name, YO HE WAH, and generally begin with one of them; which I ſhall exemplify, with a few Chikkaſah and Cheerake words. *Iſſe-Abowwè*, "Deer;" *Yanàſa*, Buffalo, which as it begins with the divine name, YAH, contains no more of their beloved vowels: in like manner, *Wahka*, "cattle;" *Iſhke-Oochēa*, "a mother." This laſt ſeems to be drawn from *Iſha*, the mother of all mankind. *Ebó* and *Enekia* ſignify "a woman." The latter is derived from the active verb, *Akekiuhab*, ſignifying "to love ardently," or like a woman; *Nakkàne Aſkai*, "a man." From this word, the Chikkaſah derive *Nakke*, the name of an arrow or bullet: and with the Cheerake *Aſkai* ſignifies "to fear;" as all the American brute animals were afraid of man, &c.

Words, which imply either a vicious or impure idea, generally begin with a conſonant, and double thoſe favourite vowels, either at the beginning and end, or in the middle, of ſuch words; as *Naſſooba Woheea*, "a wolf." With the Chikkaſah, *Eaſſooba* ſignifies "bewildered;" *Patche*, "a pigeon," and *Patche Eaſſooba*, "a turtle-dove." *Soore* and *Sheeke* are the Chikkaſah and Cheerake names of a "Turkey-buzzard;" *Choola* and *Choochòla*, "a fox;" *Shookqua* and *Seequa*, an "opoſſum," or hog; *Ookoonne*, "a polecat;" *Ookoonna*, "a badger;" *Chookphe* and *Cheeſto*, "a rabbet." The laſt word is derived from the defective verb *Cheſti*, "forbear," or, do not meddle with; and rabbets were prohibited to the Iſraelites. In like manner, *Ooppa* and *Ookòokoo*, "a night-owl;" *Oophe* and *Keera*, "a dog;" *Naboolla* and *U-nēhka*, "white people," or "impure animals." The Chikkaſah both corrupt and tranſpoſe the laſt part of the divine name, Iſhtohoollo; and the Cheerake invert their magnifying termination *U*, to convey an impure idea. And through the like faint alluſion to this divine name, *Hoollo* ſignifies "idols, pictures, or images;" a ſharp-pointed ſarcaſm! for the word, *Hoollo*, ſignifies alſo "menſtruous women," who were for the time an equal abomination to the Iſraelites, and with whom they were to have no communion. Theſe two words ſeem to bear the ſame analogy to each other, as אל, *Al*, a name of God, and אלה, *Aleh*, ſignifying the covenant of the holy One to redeem man, and אלוה, *Aloah*, execrated, or accurſed of God, as idols were.

With the Cheerake, *Awwa*, or *Amma*, ſignifies "water," and *Ammoi*, "a river;" not much unlike the Hebrew. They likewiſe term ſalt, *Hawa*; and both the conjunction copulative, and "to marry," is *Tawa*. The name of a wife is *Awah*; which written in Hebrew, makes חוה, *Eve*, or *Eweh*, the name of our general mother. So that the Indian name of a wife, is literally and emphatically, HIS AND, "One abſolutely needful for the well-being of *Iſh*, or man;" *Iſhtawa* (*tim?*) ſignifies "have you married?" We gain additional light from the ſtrong ſignificant appellative, *Iſh-ke*, "a mother;" which is an evident contraction of *Iſha*, the mother of *Yawe*, or mankind, with their favourite termination, *ſke*, ſubjoined; the word becomes thus ſmoother than to pronounce it at its full length, *Iſha-ſke*. If we conſider that the Hebrews pronounced ו, *Vau*, when a conſonant, as *W*, here is a very ſtrong, expreſſive gradation, through thoſe various words, up to the divine, neceſſary, AND, who formed and connected every ſyſtem of beings; or to the Hebrew divine original, YO HE WAH: at the ſame time, we gain a probable reaſon why ſo many proper names of old Indian places, in South-Carolina, and elſewhere, along the great continent, begin with our Anglo-Saxon borrowed character, *W*; as *Wampee*, *Watboo*, *Wappoo*, *Wadmolā*, *Waſſamèſāh*, &c. Chance is fluctuating, and can never act uniformly.

To elucidate the aforeſaid remarks, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, according to the Iſraelitiſh cuſtom both of mourning, and employing mourners for their dead, and calling weeping, the lifting up of their voices to God, the Choktah literally obſerve the ſame cuſtom; and both they and the Chikkaſah term a perſon, who through a pretended religious principle bewails the dead, *Yah-ah*, "Ah God!" and one, who weeps on other occaſions, *Yāhma*, "pouring out ſalt tears to, or before God;" which is ſimilar to יהמי. When a perſon weeps very bitterly, they ſay, *Yahmiſhto*, which is a compounded word, derived from יה, and ומי, with the initial part of the divine name, *Iſhtohoollo*, ſubjoined, to magnify the idea, according to the uſage of the Hebrews. When the divine penman is deſcribing the creation, and the ſtrong purifying wind, which ſwept along the ſurface of the waters, he calls it, "the air, or ſpirit;" and, more ſignificantly, "the wind of God," or a very great wind: and, in other parts of the divine oracles, great hail, a great lion, and the like, are by the ſame figure, called the hail of God. They alſo apply the former words, *Yah-ah*, *Yah-ma*, and the like, to expreſs the very ſame ideas through all the moods and tenſes; as *Cheyaàras*, "I ſhall weep for you;" *Sawa Cheyaàra Awa*, "Wife, I will not weep for you." And when the violence of their grief for the deceaſed, is much abated, the women frequently, in their plaintive notes, repeat *Yo Hé (tà) Wāh*, *Yo Hé (tà) Wēh*, *Yò Hé ta Há*, *Yo Hê tà Héb*; with a reference probably to the Hebrew cuſtom of immoderately weeping and wailing for their dead, and invoking the name of God on ſuch doleful occaſions; and which may have induced theſe ſuppoſed red Hebrews to believe the like conduct, a very eſſential part of religious duty. *Neetak Yah-ah* ſignifies "a faſt day," becauſe they were then humbly to ſay *Ah*, and afflict their ſouls before YAH. In like manner, *Yah-'Abe* ſignifies "one who weeps for having killed, or murdered another." Its roots are יה, *Yah*, their continual war-period, and, אבל, *Abele*, ſignifying "ſorrow or mourning;" for, as killing, or murdering, is an hoſtile act, it cannot be drawn from אבה, which ſignifies brotherly love, or tender affection. *Nana-Yah-Abe* deſcribes a perſon weeping, while another is killing him. Now, as *Nana* is "a relation," *Yah* "God," and *Abe* as above, the true meaning ſeems to be, "One, like bleeding Abele, weeping to God." Likewiſe their name for ſalt, *Hawa*, may inform us, that though at preſent they uſe no ſalt in their religious offerings, they forbore it, by reaſon of their diſtant ſituation from the ſea-ſhore, as well as by the danger of blood attending the bringing it through an enemy's country; for, according to the idiom of their language, if they had not thought ſalt an eſſential part of the law of ſacrificature, they moſt probably, would not have derived it from the two laſt ſyllables of the great divine name; whereas they double the conſonant, when they expreſs water, without drawing it from the clear fountain of living waters, YO HE WAH.

With the Hebrews, as before obſerved *, טפל, *Tephale*, ſignifies "ſhaking or pulling of the hand, coheſion, conjunction, or entering into ſociety;" and "praying, or invoking." In conformity to that original ſtandard, when the Indians would expreſs a ſtrong, laſting friendſhip, they have no other way, than by ſaying, *Abarattlè-la pheena chemanumbóle,* "I ſhall firmly ſhake hands with your diſcourſe, or ſpeech."

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* Page 42.

When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing peace with each other, the ceremonies and ſolemnities they uſe, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very ſtriking to a curious ſpectator, which I ſhall here relate, ſo far as it ſuits the preſent ſubject. When ſtrangers of note arrive near the place, where they deſign to contract new friendſhip, or confirm their old amity, they ſend a meſſenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a ſwan's wing in his hand, painted all over with ſtreaks of white clay, as an expreſſive emblem of their embaſſy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns and whooping, and have entered the beloved ſquare, their chieftain, who is a-head of the reſt, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the viſitant approach one another, in a bowing poſture. The former ſays, *Yò, Iſh la chu Anggòna?* "Are you come a friend in the name of God?" Or, "Is God with you, friend?" for, *Yo* is a religious contraction of *Yohewah,*—*Iſh* "the man," *La* a note of joy, *Chu* a query, and *Anggona* "a friend." The other replies, *Yah—Arabre-O, Anggona,* "God is with me, I am come, a friend, in God's name." The reply confirms the meaning of the queſtionary ſalute, in the manner before explained. The magus then graſps the ſtranger with both his hands, around the wriſt of his right hand, which holds ſome green branches—again, about the elbow—then around the arm, cloſe to his ſhoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles tails over the head of the ſtranger, is the ſtrongeſt pledge of good faith. Similar to the Hebrew word, *Phále* with the Indians, ſignifies "to wave," and likewiſe to ſhake; for they ſay, *Skooba—Phále,* "ſhaking one's head." How far the Indian oath, or manner of covenanting, agrees with that of the Hebrews, on the like ſolemn occaſion, I refer to the intelligent reader. Their method of embracing each other, ſeems to reſemble alſo that cuſtom of the Hebrews, when a ſtranger became ſurety for another; by giving him his wriſt; to which Solomon alludes, "If thou haſt ſtricken hand with the ſtranger, &c."—Their common method of greeting each other, is analogous with the above; the hoſt only ſays, *Iſh-la Chu?* and the gueſt replies, *Arabre-O,* "I am come in the name of O E A," or Yo He Wah.

When *O* is joined to the end of words, it always denotes a ſuperlative, according to their univerſal figurative abbreviations of the great beloved name; thus with the Chikkaſah, *Iſſe*, “deer,” and *Iſſe-O*, “very great deer;” *Yanáſa*, “a buffalo,” *Yanas-O*, “a very extraordinary great buffalo;” which is, at leaſt, as ſtrong a ſuperlative, as אל בית אל, ſignifying “the houſe of the Omnipotent,” or “the temple.”

With the Cheerake Indians, *A (wàh tà) howwe* ſignifies “a great deer-killer:” it is compounded of *Ahowwe*, “a deer,” *Wah*—the period of the divine name, and *Ta*, a note of plurality. The title, “the deer-killer of God for the people,” was, ſince my time, very honourable among them, as its radical meaning likewiſe imports. Every town had one ſolemnly appointed; him, whom they ſaw the Deity had at ſundry times bleſſed with better ſucceſs than the reſt of his brethren, in ſupplying them with an holy banquet, that they might eat, and rejoice, before the divine eſſence. But now it ſeems, by reaſon of their great intercourſe with foreigners, they have left off that old ſocial, religious cuſtom; and even their former noted hoſpitality. I would alſo obſerve, that though neceſſity obliged them to apply the bear's-greaſe, or oil, to religious uſes, they have no ſuch phraſe as *(Wah ta) eeōna*; not accounting the bear ſo clean an animal as the deer, to be offered, and eaten in their religious friendly feaſts; where they ſolemnly invoked, ate, drank, ſung, and danced in a circular form, to, and before, YO HE WAH.

The Indian dialects, like the Hebrew language, have a nervous and emphatical manner of expreſſion.—The Indians do not perſonify inanimate objects, as did the oriental heathens, but their ſtyle is adorned with images, compariſons, and ſtrong metaphors like the Hebrews; and equal in allegories to any of the eaſtern nations. According to the ages of antiquity, their war ſpeeches, and public orations, always aſſume a poetical turn, not unlike the ſound of the meaſures of the celebrated Anacreon and Pindar. Their poetry is ſeldom exact in numbers, rhymes, or meaſure: it may be compared to proſe in muſic, or a tunable way of ſpeaking. The period is always accompanied with a ſounding vehemence, to inforce their muſical ſpeech: and the muſic is apparently deſigned to pleaſe the ear, and affect the paſſions.

After what hath been ſaid of their language, it may be proper here to ſhew how they accent the conſonants: I ſhall range them in the order of our alphabet, except thoſe they pronounce after our manner. When *CH* begins a word, or is prefixed to a vowel, it conveys a ſoft ſound, as *Cháa*, "high;" but otherwiſe it is guttural: as is *D*, which is expreſſed by fixing the tip of the tongue between the teeth, as *Dawi*, for David. *G* is always guttural, as we accent *Go*. They cannot pronounce *Gn*; and they have not the *Hh*, neither can it be expreſſed in their dialects, as their leading vowels bear the force of guttural conſonants. They have not the Jod, as I can any way recollect, or get information of; nor can they repeat it, any nearer than *Chot*. They pronounce *K*, as in *Ko*; *L* and *N*, as *D—S*, by fixing the tongue to the lower teeth; *T* like *D*, as in the old Hibernian, or Celtic affirmative, *Ta*. They cannot pronounce *V*, or *X*; they call the governor of Moveel, (Mobille) *Goweno-Moweeleh*: and they have not a word which begins or ends with *X*. *KS* are always divided into two ſyllables; as *Hak-ſe*, "mad," &c. They have not the letter *Z*; much leſs any ſuch harſh ſound as *Tz*, although they have *Tl*. As they uſe the Hebrew conſonants *Y* and *W*, in their moſt ſolemn invocation YO He Wah, inſtead of the preſent Hebrew *Jod* and *Vau*; ſo they ſeem to exclude them intirely out of their various dialects: the pronunciation therefore of the Hebrew characters, which are ſuppoſed to convey the other ſounds, they are unacquainted with; and thoſe which ſeem to be tranſpoſed, may be clearly aſcertained by perſons of proper capacity and leiſure, by comparing a ſufficient number of Hebrew and Indian words together. The Indian accents, *Oo*, and *O*, *Qu*, and *Tl*, may, prove a pretty good key to ſpeculative enquirers.

Tl often occur in their words; as *Tlumba*, "to bleed with a lancet, to bore, ſcoop, or make any thing hollow;" and *Heettla*, "to dance." And the South-Americans, we are told, had likewiſe the ſame ſound, as in that national name, *Tlaſkala*: it ſeems to have been univerſal over the extenſive continent. And, from a ſimilarity of the Hebrew manners, religious rites, civil and martial cuſtoms, we have a ſtrong preſumptive proof, that they uſed the aforeſaid double vowels, and likewiſe a ſingle vowel, as a termination, to give their words a ſoft accent: and it is plain to me, that the Hebrew language did not ſound ſo harſh, as it is now commonly expreſſed, but like the American dialects it was interſperſed with vowels, and a vowel was commonly ſubjoined to each word, for the ſake of a ſoft cadence; as *Abele*, and *Ale*, inſtead of אבל, *Abel*, and אל, *Al*, &c.

The Engliſh characters cannot be brought any nearer to the true pronunciation of the Indian words, than as above ſet down: ſo that former writers have notoriouſly ſtrayed, by writing conjecturally, or taking things on the wing of fame. What Indian words we had, being exceedingly mangled, either by the fault of the preſs, or of torturing pens, heretofore induced ſkilful perſons to conjecture them to be hieroglyphical characters, in imitation of the ancient Egyptian manner of writing their chronicles.

The Indians expreſs themſelves with a great deal of vehemence, and with ſhort pauſes, in all their ſet ſpeeches; but, in common diſcourſe, they expreſs themſelves according to our uſual method of ſpeech, only when they ſcold each other: which I never obſerved, unleſs they were intoxicated with ſpiritous liquors, or caſually overheard a huſband when ſober in his own family. They always act the part of a ſtoic philoſopher in outward appearance, and never ſpeak above their natural key. And in their philoſophic way of reaſoning, their language is the more ſharp and biting, like keen irony and ſatyr, that kills whom it praiſes. They know, that thus they correct and ſubdue the firſt boilings of anger; which, if unchecked, proves one of the moſt dangerous paſſions to which human nature is ſubject. So that remote ſavages, who have heard only the jarring ſcreeches of night-owls, and the roaring voices of ravenous beaſts of prey, in this reſpect give leſſons, and ſet a worthy example to our moſt civilized nations.

I have heard ſeveral eloquent Indian leaders, juſt as they were ready to ſet off for war, to uſe as bold metaphors and allegories in their ſpeeches—and images almoſt as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his ſtrong colours, the gladneſs and contempt of the beautiful war-horſe, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that ſtood outermoſt, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirſty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their truſty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, leſt delay ſhould burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreſhing word, “Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.” They immediately ſounded the ſhrill whoó-whoòp, and ſtruck up the ſolemn, awful ſong, *Yó*, &c.

In Virginia, reſides the remnant of an Indian tribe, who call themſelves Sepóne; which word, with the Egyptians, ſignifies the time of putting their wine into veſſels; derived, according to mythologiſts, from *Saphan*, “to incloſe or conceal.” From thence they formed the fictitious *Tiſiphone*, the puniſher of ſins, animated with hatred; and alſo the reſt of their pretended furies, from the like circumſtances of the year. Our early American writers have beſtowed on theſe Indians an emperor, according to the Spaniſh copy, calling him *Pawhatan*—contrary to the Indian method of ending their proper names with a vowel; and have pictured them as a ſeparate body of fierce idolatrous canibals. We however find them in the preſent day, of the ſame temper and religious tenets, as the reſt of the Indian Americans, in proportion to their ſituation in life. Conſidering the nearneſs of Egypt to Judea, they might have derived that appellative from the Egyptians,—eſpecially, as here, and in ſeveral of our American colonies, (particularly on the north ſide of Suſquehāna river, in Penſylvania) are old towns, called *Kanāa.* There was about thirty years ago, a remnant of a nation, or ſubdivided tribe of Indians, called *Kanāai*; which reſembles the Hebrew proper name, כנענ, (*Canaan*, or *Chanoona*). Their proper names always end with a vowel: and they ſeldom uſe a conſonant at the end of any word *. I cannot recollect any exceptions but the following, which are ſonorous, and ſeem to be of an ancient date; *Ookkàh*, "a ſwan;" *Ilpàtak*, "a wing;" *Kooſhàk*, "reeds;" *Sheenuk*, "ſand;" *Shūtik*, "the ſkies;" *Phutchik*, "a ſtar;" *Soonak*, "a kettle;" *Skin*, "the eye;" *Ai-eep*, "a pond;" and from which they derive the word *Ai-ee-pe*, "to bathe," which alludes to the eaſtern method of purifying themſelves. *Ilbàk* ſignifies "a hand:" and there are a few words that end with *ſh*; as *Sooliſh*, "a tongue," &c.

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* If we conſider the proximity of thoſe Indians to a thick-ſettled colony, in which there are many gentlemen of eminent learning, it will appear not a little ſurprizing that the name *Canaanites*, in the original language, according to the Indian method of expreſſing it, as above, did not excite the attention of the curious, and prompt them to ſome enquiry into the language, rites, and cuſtoms, of thoſe Aborigines: which had they effected, would have juſtly procured them thoſe eulogia from the learned world, which their ſociety profuſely beſtowed on the artful, improved ſtrokes of a former prime magiſtrate of South-Carolina, whoſe conduct in Indian affairs, was ſo exceedingly ſingular, if not ſordid and faulty, (as I publicly proved when he preſided there) that another year's ſuch management would have cauſed the Cheerake to remove to the French barrier, or to have invited the French to ſettle a garriſon, where the late unfortunate Fort-Loudon ſtood. But a true Britiſh adminiſtration ſucceeding, in the very critical time, it deſtroyed their immature, but moſt dangerous threatening ſcheme. This note I inſert here, though rather out of place, to ſhew, that the northern gentlemen have not made all thoſe obſervations and enquiries, with regard to the Indians, which might have been reaſonably expected, from ſo numerous and learned a body.

The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha*, and its rumbling noiſe, *Rowah*, which may not improperly be deduced from the Hebrew. To enlighten the Hebrew nation, and impreſs them with a reverential awe of divine majeſty, God ſpoke to them at Sinai, and other times during the theocracy, with an awful or thundering voice. The greater part of the Hebrews ſeem to have been formerly as ignorant of philoſophy, as are the ſavage Americans now. They did not know that thunder proceeded from any natural cauſe, but from the immediate voice of Elohim, above the clouds: and the Indians believe, according to this Hebrew ſyſtem of philoſophy, that *Minggo Iſhto Eloha Alkaiaſto*, "the great chieftain of the thunder, is very croſs, or angry when it thunders:" and I have heard them ſay, when it rained, thundered, and blew ſharp, for a conſiderable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at ſuch times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noiſe and violence of the ſtorm.

I have ſeen them in theſe ſtorms, fire off their guns, pointed toward the ſky; ſome in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to ſhew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any ſhape; much leſs afraid of that threatening troubleſome noiſe: and the latter, becauſe their hearts directed them to aſſiſt *Iſhtohoollo Eloha* *. May not this proceed from an oral tradition of the war which the rebellious angels waged againſt the great Creator; and which the ancient heathens called the war of the giants? Nothing ſounds bolder, or is more expreſſive, than the Cheerake name of thunder, *Eentaquàróſke.* It points at the effects and report of the battles, which they imagine the holy people are fighting above. The ſmall-pox, a foreign diſeaſe, no way connatural to their healthy climate, they call *Oonatàquára*, imagining it to proceed from the inviſible darts of angry fate, pointed againſt them, for their young people's vicious conduct. When they ſay, "I ſhall ſhoot," their term is, *Ake-rooka.* The radix of this word is in the two laſt ſyllables; the two firſt are expreſſive only of the firſt perſon ſingular; as *Akeeohooſa*, "I am dead, or loſt;" and *Akeeohooſéra*, "I have loſt." *Rooka* ſeems to have a reference to the Hebrew name for the holy Spirit.

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* The firſt lunar eclipſe I ſaw, after I lived with the Indians, was among the Cheerake, An. 1736: and during the continuance of it, their conduct appeared very ſurprizing to one who had not ſeen the like before; they all ran wild, this way and that way, like lunatics, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, beating of kettles, ringing horſe-bells, and making the moſt horrid noiſes that human beings poſſibly could. This was the effect of their natural philoſophy, and done to aſſiſt the ſuffering moon. And it is an opinion of ſome of the Eaſt-Indians, that eclipſes are occaſioned by a great monſter reſembling a bull-frog, which now and then gnaws one edge of the ſun and moon, and would totally deſtroy them, only that they frighten it away, and by that means preſerve them and their light.

The moſt ſouthern old town, which the Chikkaſah firſt ſettled, after the Chokchoomah, Choktah, and they, ſeparated on our ſide of the Miſſiſippi, into three different tribes, they called *Yanèka*, thereby inverting *Yahkàne*, the name of the earth; as their former brotherhood was then turned into enmity *. The bold Creeks on the oppoſite, or north ſide of them, they named *Yahnàbe*, "killing to God," or devoting to death; for the mid conſonant expreſſes the preſent time. And their proper names of perſons, and places, are always expreſſive of certain circumſtances, or things, drawn from roots, that convey a fixed determinate meaning.

With the Muſkóhge, *Algeh* ſignifies "a language," or ſpeech: and, becauſe ſeveral of the Germans among them, frequently ſay *Yah-yah*, as an affirmative, they call them *Yah-yah Algeh*, "Thoſe of the blaſphemous ſpeech;" which ſtrongly hints to us, that they ſtill retain a glimpſe of the third moral command delivered at Sinai, "Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," or apply the name of YOHEWAH, thy ELOHIM, to vain, or created things.

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* They call the earth Yahkàne, becauſe Yah formed it, as his footſtool, by the power of his word. In alluſion alſo hereto, Nakkàne ſignifies a man, becauſe of the mother-earth; and Nakke a bullet, or arrow. When the Cheerake aſk a perſon, Is it not ſo? they ſay, Wahkane? The divine eſſential name, and Kane, are evidently the roots of theſe words.

Theſe Indians, to inculcate on their young people, that YO He Wah is the Author of vegetation, call the growth of vegetables, *Wahráah*, "moved by Yohewah;" for *Aàh* ſignifies to walk, or move; and the conſonant is an expletive of diſtinction. In like manner, *Wah-àh* ſignifies, that "the fruits are ripe," or moved to their joy, by Yohewah. They likewiſe call the flying of birds, *Wahkáàh*; as Yohewah gave them that ſwift motion. And, when young pigeons are well feathered, they ſay, *Patche hiſhſhè colphotàháh*—*Patchè* ſignifies "a pidgeon," *Hiſhſhè*, "leaves, hair, or feathers," *oolpha*, or *oolpho*, "a bud," *ta*, a note of plurality, and *háh* of admiration, to make it a plural ſuperlative. But, when the pigeons, in winter, fly to a moderate climate in great clouds, they uſe the word, *Wah-àh*, which in every other application deſcribes vegetation, and ſay, *Patche Wah-àh*, "the pigeons are moved to them by Yohewah;" which ſeems to allude to the quails in the wilderneſs, that were miraculouſly ſent to feed the Iſraelites.

Clay baſons they call *Ai-am-bo*; and their old round earthen forts, *Aiambo Cháah*, this laſt word ſignifying "high," or tall: but a ſtockade, or wooden fort, they term, *Hoorèta*; and to inſwamp, *Book-Hoore*, from *Bookſe*, "a ſwamp," and *Hoorèta*, "a fort, or place of difficult acceſs." High waters, conveys to them, an idea only of deepneſs; as *Ookka phobe*, "deep waters." And they ſay, *Ookka chookòma intáa*, "The water glides, or moves along pleaſantly, or goodly." That the word *Intâa*, has *Ya-ah* for its radix, is apparent from their name for a rapid current, *Yahnāle*, "it runs with a very extraordinary force;" the mid conſonant is placed there, to give the word a ſuitable vehemence of expreſſion—and the word is compounded of יה, *Yah*, and אל, *Ale*, two names of God. In like manner, *Yahnbà* ſignifies "a pleuriſy," fever, and the like; becauſe they reckon, when Yah ſays *ha* in anger, to any of their vicious people, he immediately fires the blood, and makes it run violently through all the veins of the body. *Aſhtahále* ſignifies the reflection of the celeſtial luminaries, which is compoſed of two of the divine names; as אש, *Aſh*, the celeſtial, cherubimical name of God, ſignifying fire, *ta*, a contraction of the conjunction copulative, and אל, *Ale*, the ſtrong, or omnipotent. They ſay a river, or warm victuals, is *A-ſhù-pa*; that is, the former is become fordable, and the latter eatable. They here divide *Aſh* into two ſyllables; and the termination alludes to the word, *Apà*, which ſignifies eating.

Páàh ſignifies to raiſe the voice, *Vocifero*—for פי, *Phi*, ſignifies "the mouth," and *A'àh*, "to move." *Opáe* is the name of a war-leader, becauſe he is to move his mouth to O E A, or invoke YO Hᴇ Wᴀʜ, while he carries the beloved ark to war, and is ſanctifying himſelf and his party, that they may obtain ſucceſs againſt the enemy. But *Pae-Minggo* ſignifies a far-off, or diſtant chieftain. *Pa yak Matàháh*, is the high name of a war-leader, derived from *Páah*, to raiſe the voice to Yᴀʜ, and *Tahàh*, "finiſhed," meaning his war-gradation: the *M* prefixed to it, makes it a ſubſtantive, according to the uſage of the Hebrews. Any thing liquid they term *Ookche*, from *Ookka* and *che*: and *Ookchaah* ſignifies "alive." It is drawn from *Ookka*, "water," *Ch*, a note of reſemblance, and *Aàh*, "moving;" *i. e.* a living creature reſembles moving water. In like manner, *Ookchà* ſignifies to awake out of ſleep; and alſo to plant any vegetable ſubſtance, alluding to their three different ſtates—they firſt were enabled to move about—then reſt, or ſleep is neceſſary, and alſo being planted in the earth—but they hope that in due time, they ſhall be moved upward, after they have ſlept a while in the earth, by the omnipotent power of *Yah*. They have an idea of a reſurrection of the dead body, according to the general belief of the Jews, and in conformity to St. Paul's philoſophical axiom, that corruption precedes generation, and a reſurrection.

Keenta ſignifies "a beaver," *Ookka* "water," and *Heenna* "a path;" but, for a ſmooth cadence, they contract them into one word, *Keentookheenna*; which very expreſſively ſignifies "a beaver-dam."

The Indian compounded words, are generally pretty long; but thoſe that are radical, or ſimple, are moſtly ſhort: very few, if any of them, exceed three or four ſyllables. And, as their dialects are guttural, every word contains ſome conſonants; and theſe are the eſſential characteriſtics of language. Where they deviate from this rule, it is by religious emblems; which obviouſly proceeds from the great regard they paid to the names of the Deity; eſpecially, to the four-lettered, divine, eſſential name, by uſing the letters it contains, and the vowels it was originally pronounced with, to convey a virtuous idea; or, by doubling, or tranſpoſing them, to ſignify the contrary. In this they all agree. And, as this general cuſtom muſt proceed from one primary cauſe, it ſeems to aſſure us, they were not in a ſavage ſtate, when they firſt ſeparated, and variegated their dialects, with ſo much religious care, and exact art. Blind chance could not direct ſo great a number of remote and warring ſavage nations to fix on, and unite in ſo nice a religious ſtandard of ſpeech. Vowels are inexpreſſive of things, they only typify them; as *Oo-E-A*, "to aſcend, or remove:"—*O E A*, a moſt ſacred affirmation of the truth. Similar to theſe are many words, containing only one conſonant: as *To-e-u*, "it is very true;" *O-ſe-u*, "very good;" *Y-O-U*, "evil, or very bad;" *Y-â-a*, "he moves by the divine bounty;" *Nan-ne Y-a*, "the divine hill, or the mount of God," &c. If language was not originally a divine gift, which ſome of our very curious modern philoſophers deny, and have taken great pains to ſet aſide; yet human beings are poſſeſſed of the faculties of thinking and ſpeaking, and, in proportion to their ideas, they eaſily invented, and learned words mixed with conſonants and vowels, to expreſs them. Natural laws are common and general. The ſituation of the Indian Americans, has probably been the means of ſinking them into that ſtate of barbariſm we now behold—Yet, though in great meaſure they may have loſt their primitive language, not one of them expreſſes himſelf by the natural cries of brute-animals, any farther than to deſcribe ſome of the animals by the cries they make; which we ourſelves ſometimes imitate, as *Choo-qua-lê-qua-lôô*, the name they give that merry night-ſinging bird, which we call "Whip her will my poor wife," (much like our cuckoo) ſo termed from its muſical monotony. No language is exempt from the like ſimple copyings. The nervous, polite, and copious Greek tongue had the loud-ſounding *Böô Böao*, which the Romans imitated, by their bellowing *Boves Böum*; and the Indians ſay *Pa-a*, ſignifying the loud noiſe of every kind of animals, and their own loud-ſounding war *Whoô Whoóp*. Where they do not uſe divine emblems, their words have much articulation of conſonants. Their radicals have not the inſeparable property of three conſonants, though frequently they have; and their words are not ſo long, as ſtrangers conjecturally draw them out. Inſtead of a ſimple word, we too often inſert the wild picture of a double, or triple-compounded one; and the conjugation of their verbs, utterly deceives us. A ſpecimen of this, will ſhew it with ſufficient clearneſs, and may exhibit ſome uſeful hints to the curious ſearchers of antiquity.

A-nô-wa ſignifies "a rambler, renegadoe, or a perſon of no ſettled place of abode." *A-nó-wah*, the firſt perſon, and *Iſh-na*, the ſecond perſon ſingular, but they have not a particular pronoun for the third; they diſtinguiſh it by cuſtom. *Si-a*, or *Sy-ah*, is "I am;" *Chee-a*, or *Chy-ah*, "you are;" and *Too-wah*, "he is." *Ay-ah* ſignifies "to go;" *Ay-a-ſa*, "I remain;" *Iſh-i-a-ſa*, "you remain;" *A-ſa*, "he remains." *A-OO-E-A* is a ſtrong religious emblem, ſignifying "I climb, aſcend, or remove to another place of reſidence." It points to *A-nò-wah*, the firſt perſon ſingular, and O-E-A, or YO He Wah; and implies, putting themſelves under his divine patronage. The beginning of that moſt ſacred ſymbol, is, by ſtudious ſkill, and a thorough knowledge of the power of letters, placed twice, to prevent them from applying the ſacred name to vain purpoſes, or created things. In like manner they ſay, *Naſ-ſap-pe-O Iſh-OO-E-A*, "You are climbing a very great acorn-tree," meaning an oak; for *Naſ-ſe* is the name of an acorn; and the mid part of that triple compounded word, is derived from *Ap-pê-la*, "to help;" *Che-ap-pê-la A-wa*, "I do not help you." The termination, according to their fixed idiom, magnifies it to a ſuperlative. *Quoo-ran-hê-qua*, a noted old camping place, fourteen miles above the ſettlement of *Ninety-ſix*, and eighty-two below the Cheerake, ſignifies, in their dialect, "the large white oaks." *Ooſ-ſak* is the name of a "hickory-nut," and *Ooſ-ſak Ap-pe-O*, as above. *Oot-te* ſignifies "a cheſnut;" *Noot-te*, "a tooth;" *Soot-te*, "a pot;" and *Oo-te*, "to make a fire," which may be called an Indian type for eating boiled cheſnuts.

When they ſay, "He is removing his camp," they expreſs it in a moſt religious manner, *Al-bé-na-OO-E-A*. *Al-be-nâs-le* ſignifies "I camped;" *Al-be-nâs-le-chû*, "I ſhall, or will, camp:" but, according to their religious mode of ſpeaking, *Al-bé-na A-OO-E-A-re*, expreſſes the former, and *Al-bé-na A-OO-E-A-rá-chû*, the latter phraſe; likewiſe, *Al-bé-na OO-E-As* ſignifies *Caſtra Moveto*, imperatively. It is worthy of notice, that as they have no pronoun relative to expreſs the third perſon ſingular, they have recourſe to the firſt ſyllable of the eſſential word, *Toowah*, "He is." In alluſion to that word, they term the conjunction copulative, *Ta-wah*, and *Tee-U-Wah*, "reſting." So mixed a train of nice and exact religious terms, could not be invented by people, as illiterate and ſavage as the Indians now are, any more than happen by accident.

Though they have loſt the true meaning of their religious emblems, except what a very few of us occaſionally revive in the retentive memories of their old inquiſitive magi; yet tradition directs them to apply them properly. They uſe many plain religious emblems of the divine names, YOHEWAH, YAH, and ALE,—and theſe are the roots of a prodigious number of words, through their various dialects. It is ſurprizing they were unnoticed, and that no uſe was made of them, by the early voluminous Spaniſh writers, or by our own, for the information of the learned world, notwithſtanding the bright lights they had to direct them in that æra, when the decorations of their holy temples and prieſts, their religious ceremonies, and ſacred hymns of praiſe to the Deity, of which hereafter, ſo nearly correſponded with the Iſraelitiſh, and might have been readily diſcovered by any who eyed them with attention. In our time, by reaſon of their long intercourſe with foreigners, we have neceſſarily but a few dark traces to guide our inquiries, in the inveſtigation of what muſt have been formerly, ſhining truths.

I muſt beg to be indulged with a few more remarks on their verbs.—If we prefix *As* to *A-a*, " to move," it becomes *A-ſâ-a*, " to offend." The monoſyllables *Iſh* and *Che*, variouſly denote the ſecond perſon ſingular; but when the former is by cuſtom prefixed to a verb, the latter then expreſſes either the accuſative or ablative caſe ſingular of the pronoun relative; as *Iſh-a-ſâ-ah*, " you are offended, or moved to ſay Ah;" *Iſh-a-ſâ-a-re*, " you were diſpleaſed:" but *Che-a-ſâ-ah* ſignifies " I am diſpleaſed with you;" and *Che-a-ſâ-a-re* " I was offended by you;" *Che-a-ſâ-a-chee-le* is " I occaſion, or have occaſioned you to be diſpleaſed," literally, " I produce, or have produced offence to you;" and *Che-a-ſâ-a-cheê-la Awa*, " I ſhall not cauſe you to be diſpleaſed." In like manner, they ſay *A-ân-ha*, which ſignifies " I deſpiſe," or literally, " I move *ha*;" for the mid letter is inſerted for diſtinction-ſake, according to their idiom. So *A-chîn-ha-chu*, " I ſhall contemn you;" *A-chîn-ha-cheê-la A-wa*, " I ſhall not cauſe you to become deſpicable." *Chee-le* ſignifies literally, " to bring forth young." So that the former method of expreſſion is very ſignificant; and yet it ſhews a ſterility of language, as that ſingle word is applicable to every ſpecies of female animals, fowls not excepted: Thus, *Phoo-ſhe Chee-le*, " the birds lay." *Oe-ſhe* ſignifies " a young animal," of any kind—and likewiſe an egg. When mentioned alone, by way of excellence, it is the common name of an infant; but when the name of the ſpecies of animals is prefixed to it, it deſcribes the young creature. *An-puſh-kooſh oo-ſhe*, is what the tender mother ſays to her well-pleaſed infant. The two words import the ſame thing. The former reſembles the Hebrew, and the latter is likewiſe a ſubſtantive; they ſay *Chool loo-ſhe Teeth-lâ-a-ta-hâh*, "the fox-cubs are run off;"—*Choo-la* being the name of a fox. *Phut-choos-oo-ſhe Wah-kâ-as*, "let the young duck fly away;" and *Phoo-ſoo-ſhe Hiſh-ſhe Ool-pha-quî-ſa*, "the young wild bird's hairs, or feathers, are not ſprung, or budded." *Pa-ſe* ſignifies the hair of a man's head, or the mane of animals. *Sha-le* ſignifies pregnant, literally, "to carry a burthen;" as *Oo-ſhe Shâ-le*, "ſhe bears, or carries, an infant;" but, when it is born, *Shoo-le* is the name for carrying it in their arms. This bears off from the divine radix, with great propriety of language. *Im* prefixed to a verb, denotes the maſculine and feminine pronouns, *illum* and *illam* As this is their fixed method of ſpeech, the reader will eaſily underſtand the true idiom of their language. *Sal-le* ſignifies "I am dead," *Chil-le*, you, &c. *Il-leh*, he, &c. And this is likewiſe a ſubſtantive, as *Il-let Min-te*, "death is approaching," or coming: *Min-té-cha* ſignifies "come you;" and *A-min-té-la A-wa*, or *Ac-min-tá-qua-chù*, "I will not come."

The former word, *Shâ-le*, "to carry a burthen," or, ſhe is pregnant, ſeems to be derived from ש and אל: and, as *A-ſhâ-le*, *Iſh-ſhâ-le*, and *E-ſhâ-le*, are the firſt, ſecond, and third perſons ſingular of the preſent tenſe, the latter may allude to her conception by the power of the Deity: and it alſo points to שול, *Sha-wô-le*, or Saul, "the grave, or ſepulchre," out of which the dead ſhall come forth to a new world of light. In like manner *Chee-le* "to bring forth," or *A-chee-lá-le*, "I brought forth," appears to be derived from כ, a note of reſemblance, and אל, *A-le*, the fruitful Omnipotent. All the American nations, like the Jews, entertain a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—ſterility they conſider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity.

To enable grammarians to form a clear idea of the Indian method of variegating their verbs, and of the true meaning they convey, we muſt again recur to the former eſſential word, or rather divine emblem, *A-ah*, "he moves." They ſay *A-as*, "let him move," and *Ee-má-ko*, or *Blâ-ſas A-á-á-re*, "I now move," or "yeſterday I moved;" for, like the Hebrews, they ſometimes uſe the preterperfect, inſtead of the preſent tenſe. *A-â-a-ra-chû* is the firſt perſon ſingular of the future tenſe, in the indicative mood. *A-â-ta-hah* expreſſes the third perſon plural of the preſent tenſe, and ſame mood. *A-â-ta-hâh-ta-kô-a* ſignifies, by query, "have ye, or will ye move?" It is their method of conjugating their verbs, that occaſions any of their radical or derivative verbs to exceed three or four ſyllables; as we ſee by this, which, though compoſed only of two vowels, or ſhort ſyllables, is yet ſo greatly deflected. With them two negatives make an affirmative, as *Ak-hiſh-ko-quá*, "I ſhall not drink;" add the ſtrong negative termination *A-wa*, it is, "I will certainly drink." An affirmative queſtion frequently implies a ſtrong negative; as *Ai-a-râ-ta-kô-a*, literally, "will, or ſhould, I go?" that is, "I really will not, or ſhould not go:" and on the contrary, a negative query imports an affirmative aſſertion; as *A-kai-u-quâ-ta-kô-a*, "ſhould not I go?" or, "I ſurely ſhould go." *Ee-á-ko A-pâ-ret Sa-kâi-a-qua-ta-kô-a*, is literally, "if I ate, ſhould not I be ſatisfied?" which implies, "if I ate, I ſhould be fully ſatisfied. To drinking, they apply a word that ſignifies content; and indeed, they are moſt eager to drink any ſort of ſpiritous liquors, when their bellies are quite full. When they are tired with drinking, if we ſay to any of them, *Un-ta Ang-gó-na Che-ma-hîſh-kó-la Chû*, "Well, my friend, I will drink with you;" *Che-a-yôok-pa-chêe-re Too-gat*, "for, indeed, I rejoice in your company;" he replies, *Hai-a*, *Ook-ka Hoo-me Hiſh-ko Sa-nook-tá-ra*; which is, "No; for I am content with drinking bitter waters." They conſtantly prefix the ſubſtantive before the adjective, and place the accuſative caſe before the verb. If we tranſlate the following words, *Ook-ka Pangge Hum-ma Law-wa A-hiſh-kó le Bla-ſas*, they literally ſignify, "yeſterday I drank a great deal of red-grape water," meaning claret. Thus they ſay, *Tik-ké-ba*, *Ing-glee-ſhe Fren-ſhe Ee-lap A-bing-ga E-tee-be*, "formerly, when the Engliſh and French fought againſt each other;" *Fren-ſhe Ing-glee-ſhe A-be-tâ-le*," the French were killed by the Engliſh."

The verbs are ſeldom defective, or imperfect: though they may ſeem to be ſo to perſons who do not underſtand the idiom of their language, they are not; they only appear as ſuch by the near reſemblance of words, which convey a different meaning—as *A-kai-a*, "I go," *Sa-kai-a*, "I am ſatisfied with eating," and *Sal-kai-a*, "I am angry, croſs, vexed, or diſturbed in mind;" *Shee-a*, *Che-kai-a*, and *Chil-kai-a*, in the ſecond perſon; *Ai-a*, *E-kai-a*, and *Al-kai-a*, in the third perſon ſingular. *A-pee-ſa* ſignifies "to ſee," and *Al-pêê-ſa*, "ſtrait, even, or right; *Al-poo-ê-ak*, the general name of mercantile goods, I ſubjoin, as ſuch a word is uncommon with them; they ſeldom uſe ſo harſh a termination. I ſhall here cloſe this argument, and hope enough hath been ſaid to give a clear idea of the principles of the Indian language and dialects, its genius and idiom, and ſtrong ſimilarity to, and near coincidence with the Hebrew—which will be not eaſily accounted for, but by conſidering the American Indians as deſcended from the Jews.

ARGUMENT VI.

They count Time after the manner of the Hebrews.

They divide the year into ſpring—ſummer—autumn, or the fall of the leaf—and winter: which the Cheerake Indians call *Kogeh*, *Akooèa*, *Oolekóhſtè*, *Kóra*; and the Chikkaſah and Choktah nation, *Otoolpha*, *Tóme palle*, *Aſhtòra-móona*, *Aſhtòra*. *Kógeh* is drawn from *Anantóge*, the general appellation for the ſun and moon; becauſe, when the ſun returns from the ſouthern hemiſphere, he covers the vegetable world with a green livery. *Akooèa* alludes ſtrongly to the eſſential divine name, as we have ſeen in the former argument. With regard to *Oolekohſte*, "the fall of the leaf," as they call a buzzard, *Soore*, or *Soole*; and as *Soolekohſte* ſignifies troubleſome, offenſive, diſagreeable, the word ſignifies, that "the fall of the year is as diſagreeable a ſight, as that of a buzzard." *Kora*, as with the Hebrews, ſignifies the winter; and is likewiſe the name of a bone: and by joining *Hah*, an Hebrew note of admiration, to the end of it, as *Kora-Hah*, it becomes the proper name of a man, ſignifying, "all bones," or very bony. *Otóolphà*, "the ſpring ſeaſon," is derived from *Oolpha*, the name of a bud, or to ſhoot out; becauſe then the ſolar heat cauſes vegetables to bud and ſpring. *Tómeh* ſignifies "the ſolar light," and *Palle*, "warm or hot;" *Aſhtora*, "winter," and *Moona*, "preſently," &c.

They number their years by any of thoſe four periods, for they have no name for a year; and they ſubdivide theſe, and count the year by lunar months, like the Iſraelites, who counted by moons, as their name ſufficiently teſtifies; for they called them ירחים, the plural of ירח, the moon.

The Indians have no diſtinct proper name for the ſun and moon; one word, with a note of diſtinction, expreſſes both—for example; the Cheerake call the ſun *Euſ-ſe A-nan-tó-ge*, "the day-moon, or ſun;" and the latter, *Neuſ-ſe A-nan-tó-ge*, or "the night-ſun, or moon." In like manner, the Chikkaſah and Choktah term the one, *Neetak-Haſſéh*, and the other, *Neennak-Haſſéh*; for *Neetak* ſignifies "a day," and *Neennak*, "a night."

Here I cannot forbear remarking, that the Indians call the penis of any animal, by the very ſame name, *Haſſe*; with this difference only, that the termination is in this inſtance pronounced ſhort, whereas the other is long, on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh the words. This bears a ſtrong analogy to what the rabbins tell us of the purity of the Hebrew language, that "it is ſo chaſte a tongue, as to have no proper names for the parts of generation." The Cheerake can boaſt of the ſame decency of ſtyle, for they call a corn-houſe, *Watóhre* and the penis of any creature, by the very ſame name; intimating, that as the ſun and moon influence and ripen the fruits that are ſtored in it, ſo by the help of Ceres and Bacchus, Venus lies warm, whereas on the contrary, *ſine Cerere & Bacchus, friget Venus.*

They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines; or by notched ſquare ſticks, which are likewiſe diſtributed among the head warriors, and other chieftains of different towns, in order to number the winters, &c.—the moons alſo—their ſleeps—and the days when they travel; and eſpecially certain ſecret intended acts of hoſtility. Under ſuch a circumſtance, if one day elapſes, each of them looſens a knot, or cuts off a notch, or elſe makes one, according to previous agreement; which thoſe who are in the trading way among them, call broken days. Thus they proceed day by day, till the whole time is expired, which was marked out, or agreed upon; and they know with certainty, the exact time of any of the aforeſaid periods, when they are to execute their ſecret purpoſes, be they ever ſo various. The authors of the romantic Spaniſh hiſtories of Peru and Mexico, have wonderfully ſtretched on theſe knotted, or marked ſtrings, and notched ſquare ſticks, to ſhew their own fruitful inventions, and draw the attention and ſurprize of the learned world to their magnified bundle of trifles.

The method of counting time by weeks, or ſevenths, was a very ancient cuſtom, practiſed by the Syrians, Egyptians, and moſt of the oriental nations;

and it evidently is a remain of the tradition of the creation. The Creator, indeed, renewed to the Hebrews the old precept of ſanctifying the ſeventh day, on a particular occaſion. And chriſtianity promoted that religious obſervance in the weſtern world, in remembrance of the work of redemption. The Greeks counted time by decads, or tens; and the Romans by nones, or ninths. The number, and regular periods of the Indians public religious feaſts, of which preſently, is a good hiſtorical proof, that they counted time by, and obſerved a weekly ſabbath, long after their arrival on the American continent.

They count the day alſo by the three ſenſible differences of the ſun, like the Hebrews—ſun-riſe, they term, *Haſſé kootcha meente*, "the ſun's coming out;"—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre*;—and ſun-ſet, *Haſſé Oobèa*, literally, "the ſun is dead;" likewiſe, *Haſſe Ookka'tòra*, that is, "the ſun is fallen into the water;" the laſt word is compounded of *Ookka*, water, and *Etòra*, to fall: it ſignifies alſo "to ſwim," as inſtinct would direct thoſe to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, *Ookklille*—derived from *Ookka*, water, and *Illeh*, dead; which ſhews their opinion of the ſun's diſappearance, according to the ancients, who ſaid the ſun ſlept every night in the weſtern ocean. They ſubdivide the day, by any of the aforeſaid three ſtandards—as half way between the ſun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, &c.

They begin the year, at the firſt appearance of the firſt new moon of the vernal æquinox, according to the eccleſiaſtical year of Moſes: and thoſe ſynodical months, each conſiſt of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty odd minutes; which make the moons, alternately, to conſiſt of twenty-nine and of thirty days. They pay a great regard to the firſt appearance of every new moon, and, on the occaſion, always repeat ſome joyful ſounds, and ſtretch out their hands towards her—but at ſuch times they offer no public ſacrifice.

Till the 70 years captivity commenced, (according to Dr. Prideaux, 606 years before the Chriſtian æra) the Iſraelites had only numeral names for the ſolar and lunar months, except אביב and האתנים; the former ſignifies a green ear of corn; and the latter, robuſt, or valiant. And by the firſt name, the Indians, as an explicative, term their *paſſover*, which the trading people call the green-corn dance. As the Iſraelites were a ſenſual people, and generally underſtood nothing but the ſhadow, or literal part of the law; ſo the Indians cloſely imitate them, minding only that traditional part, which promiſed them a delicious land, flowing with milk and honey. The two Jewiſh months juſt mentioned, were æquinoctial. Abib, or their preſent Niſan, was the ſeventh of the civil, and the firſt of the eccleſiaſtical year, anſwering to our March and April: and Ethanim, which began the civil year, was the ſeventh of that of the eccleſiaſtical, the ſame as our September and October. And the Indians name the various ſeaſons of the year, from the planting, or ripening of the fruits. The green-eared moon is the moſt beloved, or ſacred,—when the firſt fruits become ſanctified, by being annually offered up. And from this period they count their beloved, or holy things.

When they lack a full moon, or when they travel, they count by ſleeps; which is a very ancient cuſtom—probably, from the Moſaic method of counting time, "that the evening and the morning were the firſt day." Quantity they count by tens, the number of their fingers; which is a natural method to all people. In the mercantile way, they mark on the ground their numbers, by units; or by X for ten; which, I preſume they learned from the white people, who traded with them. They readily add together their tens, and find out the number ſought. They call it *Yakâ-ne Tlápha*, or "ſcoring on the ground." But *old time* they can no way trace, only by remarkable circumſtances, and æras. As they trade with each other, only by the hand, they have no proper name for a pound weight.

The Cheerake count as high as an hundred, by various numeral names; whereas the other nations of Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, riſe no higher than the decimal number, adding units after it, by a conjunction copulative; which intimates, that nation was either more mixed, or more ſkilful, than the reſt: the latter ſeems moſt probable. They call a thouſand, *Skoeh Chooke Kaiére*, "the old," or "the old one's hundred:" and ſo do the reſt, in their various dialects, by interpretation; which argues their former ſkill in numbers.

I ſhall here give a ſpecimen of the Hebrew method of counting, and that of the Cheerake, Chikkaſah, and Muſkohge or Creeks, by which ſome farther analogy will appear between the ſavage Indians, and their ſuppoſed Iſraelitiſh brethren. The Hebrew characters were numeral figures: they counted by them alphabetically, א (1), ב (2), and ſo on to the letter י, the tenth letter of the alphabet, and which ſtands for ten; then, by prefixing י to thoſe letters, they proceeded with their riſing numbers, as יא (11), יב (12), יג (13), יד (14), &c. They had words alſo of a numeral power, as אחד (1), שני (2), שלשי (3), ארבע (4), &c. We ſhall now ſee how the Indian method of numbering agrees with this old ſtandard, as well as with the idiom of the Hebrew language in ſimilar caſes.

The Cheerake number thus: *Soquo* 1, *Tahre* 2, *Choeh* 3, *Nankke* 4, *Iſhke* 5, *Sootàre* 6, *Karekóge* 7, *Suhnâyra* 8, *Sohnáyra* 9, *Skoeh* 10, *Soàtoo* 11, *Taràtoo* 12, &c. And here we may ſee a parity of words between two of the Indian nations; for the Muſkohge term a ſtone, *Tahre*; which glances at the Hebrew, as they not only built with ſuch materials, but uſed it as a word of number, expreſſive of two. In like manner, *Iſhke* "five," ſignifies a mother, which ſeems to ſhew that their numeral words were formerly ſignificant; and that they are one ſtock of people.

The Chikkaſah and Choktah count in this manner—*Chephpha* 1, *Toogàlo* 2, *Tootchēna* 3, *Ooſta* 4, *Tathlābe* 5, *Hannāhle* 6, *Untoogàlo* 7, *Untootchēna* 8, *Chakkále* 9, *Pokoole* 10, *Pokoole Aawa Chephpha*, "ten and one," and ſo on. The Cheerake have an old waſte town, on the Georgia ſouth-weſt branch of Savannah river, called *Toogàlo*; which word may come under the former obſervation, upon the numerical word two: and they call a pompion, *Ooſto*, which reſembles *Ooſta*, four.

The Cheerake call twenty, *Tahre Skoeh*, "two tens:" and the Chikkaſah term it, *Pokoole Toogalo*, "ten twos:" as if the former had learned to number from the left hand to the right, according to the Syriac cuſtom; and the latter, from the right to the left hand, after the Hebrew manner. The former call an hundred, *Skoeh Chooke*; and, as before obſerved, a thouſand, *Skoeh Chooke Kaiére*, or "the old one's hundred;" for with them, *Kaiére* ſignifies "ancient," or aged; whereas *Eti*, or *Eti-u*, expreſſes former old time.

May not this have ſome explanation, by the "Ancient of days," as expreſſed by the prophet Daniel—magnifying the number, by joining one of the names of God to it—according to a frequent cuſtom of the Hebrews? This ſeems to be illuſtrated with ſufficient clearneſs, by the numerical method of the Chikkaſah—for they call an hundred, *Pokoole Tathleepa*; and a thouſand, *Pokoole Tathleepa Tathleepa Iſhto*; the laſt of which is a ſtrong double ſuperlative, according to the uſage of the Hebrews, by a repetition of the principal word; or by affixing the name of God to the end of it, to heighten the number. Iſhto is one of their names of God, expreſſive of majeſty, or greatneſs; and *Soottathleepa* *, the name of a drum, derived from *Sootte*, an earthen pot, and *Tathleepa*, perhaps the name or number of ſome of their ancient legions.

The Muſkohge method of counting is, *Hommai* 1, *Hokkóle* 2, *Tootchēna* 3, *Ohſta* 4, *Chakàpe* 5, *Eepáhge* 6, *Hoolopháge* 7, *Cheenèpa* 8, *Ohſtàpe* 9, *Pokóle* 10, &c. I am ſorry that I have not ſufficient ſkill in the Muſkohge dialect, to make any uſeful obſervations on this head; however, the reader can eaſily diſcern the parity of language, between their numerical words, and thoſe of the Chikkaſah and Choktah nations; and may from thence conclude, that they were formerly one nation and people.

I have ſeen their ſymbols, or ſignatures, in a heraldry way, to count or diſtinguiſh their tribes, done with what may be called wild exactneſs. The Choktah uſe the like in the dormitories of their dead; which ſeems to argue, that the ancienter and thicker-ſettled countries of Peru and Mexico had formerly, at leaſt, the uſe of hieroglyphic characters; and that they painted the real, or figurative images of things, to convey their ideas. The preſent American Aborigines ſeem to be as ſkilful Pantomimi, as ever were thoſe of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkiſh mutes, who deſcribe the meaneſt things ſpoken, by geſture, action, and the paſſions of the face. Two far-diſtant Indian nations, who underſtand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converſe together, and contract engagements, without any interpreter, in ſuch a ſurprizing manner, as is ſcarcely credible. As their dialects are guttural, the indications they uſe, with the hand or fingers, in common diſcourſe, to accompany their ſpeech, is the reaſon that ſtrangers imagine they make only a gaggling noiſe, like what we are told of the Hottentots, without any articulate ſound; whereas it is an ancient cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, which probably the firſt emigrants brought with them to America, and ſtill retain over the far-extended continent *.

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* The double vowels, *oo* and *ee*, are always to be joined in one ſyllable, and pronounced long.

ARGUMENT VII.

In conformity to, or after the manner of the Jews, the Indian Americans have their PROPHETS, HIGH-PRIESTS, and others of a religious order. As the Jews had a *ſanctum ſanctorum*, or moſt holy place, ſo have all the Indian nations; particularly, the Muſkohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breaſt-high, behind the white ſeat, which always ſtands to the left hand of the red-painted war-ſeat; there they depoſit their conſecrated veſſels, and ſuppoſed holy utenſils, none of the laity daring to approach that ſacred place, for fear of particular damage to themſelves, and general hurt to the people, from the ſuppoſed divinity of the place.

With the Muſkohge, *Hitch Lalàge* ſignifies "cunning men," or perſons preſcient of futurity, much the ſame as the Hebrew ſeers. *Cheeràtahège* is the name of the pretended prophets, with the Cheerake, and nearly approaches to the meaning of נביא, *Nebia*, the Hebrew name of a prophet. *Cheera* is their word for "fire," and the termination points out men poſſeſt of, or endued with it. The word ſeems to allude to the celeſtial cherubim, fire, light, and ſpirit, which centered in O E A, or YOHEWAH. Theſe Indians call their pretended prophets alſo *Loá-che*, "Men reſembling the holy fire," or as Elohim; for the termination expreſſes a compariſon, and *Loa*, is a contraction of *Loak*, drawn from אלה, *Elóah*, the ſingular number of אלהים, *Elohim*, the name of the holy ones. And, as the Muſkohge call the noiſe of thunder, *Erowah*, ſo the Cheerake by inverting it, *Worah*, "He is;" thereby alluding to the divine eſſence: and, as thoſe term the lightning *Elóa*, and believe it immediately to proceed from the voice of *Iſhtohollo Elóa Aba*, it ſhews the analogy to the Hebrews, and their ſentiments to be different from all the early heathen world.

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* The firſt numbering was by their fingers; to which cuſtom Solomon alludes, *Prov.* iii. 16. "length of days is in her right hand." The Greeks called this, Αποπεμπομαζειν, becauſe they numbered on their five fingers: and Ovid ſays, *Seu, quia tot digitis, per quos numeráre ſolemus*; likewiſe Juvenal, *Sua dextrâ computat annos.* Others numbered on their ten fingers, as we may ſee in Bede de ratione temporum. And the ancients not only counted, but are ſaid to ſpeak with their fingers, *Prov.* vi. 13, "The wicked man he teacheth with his fingers." And Nævius, in Tarentilla, ſays, *dat digito literas.*

The Indian tradition ſays, that their forefathers were poſſeſſed of an extraordinary divine ſpirit, by which they foretold things future, and controuled the common courſe of nature: and this they tranſmitted to their offspring, provided they obeyed the ſacred laws annexed to it. They believe, that by the communication of the ſame divine fire working on their *Loáche*, they can now effect the like. They ſay it is out of the reach of *Nana Ookproo*, either to comprehend, or perform ſuch things, becauſe the beloved fire, or the holy ſpirit of fire, will not co-operate with, or actuate *Hottuk Ookprooſe*, "the accurſed people." *Iſhtohoollo* is the name of all their prieſtly order, and their pontifical office deſcends by inheritance to the eldeſt: thoſe friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exerciſes and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time. But lameneſs, contrary to the Moſaic law, it muſt be confeſſed, does not now exclude him from officiating in his religious function; though it is not to be doubted, as they are naturally a modeſt people, and highly ridicule thoſe who are incapable of procreating their ſpecies, that formerly they excluded the lame and impotent. They, who have the leaſt knowledge in Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtue of the ſavages, obtains them titles of diſtinction; but yet their old men, who could ſcarcely correct their tranſgreſſing wives, much leſs go to war, and perform thoſe difficult exerciſes, that are eſſentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended ſanctity of the office. Notwithſtanding the Cheerake are now a neſt of apoſtate hornets, pay little reſpect to grey hairs, and have been degenerating faſt from their primitive religious principles, for above thirty years paſt—yet, before the laſt war, *Old Hop*, who was helpleſs and lame, preſided over the whole nation, as *Archi-magus*, and lived in Choàte, their only town of refuge. It was entirely owing to the wiſdom of thoſe who then preſided in South-Carolina, that his dangerous pontifical, and regal-like power, was impaired, by their ſetting up *Atta Kulla Kulla*, and ſupporting him ſo well, as to prevent the then eaſy tranſition of an Indian high-prieſthood into a French American bloody chair, with a bunch of red and black beads; where the devil and they could as eaſily have inſtructed them in the infernal French catechiſm, as they did the Canada Indians: as—Who killed Chriſt? *Anſwer*, The bloody Engliſh; &c. *

To diſcover clearly the origin of the Indian religious ſyſtem, I muſt occaſionally quote as much from the Moſaic inſtitution, as the ſavages ſeem to copy after, or imitate, in their ceremonies; and only the faint image of the Hebrew can now be expected to be diſcerned, as in an old, imperfect glaſs. The prieſthood originally centered with the firſt male born of every family: with the ancient heathens, the royalty was annexed to it, in a direct line; and it deſcended in that manner, as low as the Spartans and Romans. But, to ſecure Iſrael from falling into heatheniſh cuſtoms and worſhip; God in the time of Moſes, ſet apart the Levites for religious ſervices in the room of the firſt-born; and one high-prieſt, was elected from the family of Aaron, and anointed with oil, who preſided over the reſt. This holy office deſcended by right of inheritance. However, they were to be free of bodily defects, and were by degrees initiated to their holy office, before they were allowed to ſerve in it. They were conſecrated, by having the water of purifying ſprinkled upon them, waſhing all their body, and their clothes clean, anointing them with oil, and offering a ſacrifice.

It is not ſurprizing that the dreſs of the old ſavage *Archi-magus*, and that of the Levitical high-prieſt, is ſomewhat different. It may well be ſuppoſed, they wandered from captivity to this far-diſtant wilderneſs, in a diſtreſt condition, where they could ſcarcely cover themſelves from the inclemency of heat and cold. Beſides, if they had always been poſſeſſed of the greateſt affluence, the long want of written records would ſufficiently excuſe the difference; becauſe oral traditions are liable to variation. However, there are ſome traces of agreement in their pontifical dreſs. Before the Indian *Archi-magus* officiates in making the ſuppoſed holy fire, for the yearly atonement

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* A wrong belief has a moſt powerful efficacy in depraving men's morals, and a right one has a great power to reform them. The bloody Romiſh bulls, that France ſent over to their Indian converts, clearly prove the former; and our peaceable conduct, as plainly ſhewed the latter, till Britannia ſent out her lions to retaliate.

of ſin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waiſtcoat without ſleeves. When he enters on that ſolemn duty, a beloved attendant ſpreads a white-dreſt buck-ſkin on the white ſeat, which ſtands cloſe to the ſuppoſed holieſt, and then puts ſome white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the *Archi-magus* wraps around his ſhoulders a conſecrated ſkin of the ſame ſort, which reaching acroſs under his arms, he ties behind his back, with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another cuſtom he obſerves on this ſolemn occaſion, is, inſtead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buck-ſkin white maccaſenes made by himſelf, and ſtitched with the ſinews of the ſame animal *. The upper leather acroſs the toes, he paints, for the ſpace of three inches, with a few ſtreaks of red—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and ſtalk reſembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red ſymbol of holy things. Theſe ſhoes he never wears, but in the time of the ſuppoſed paſſover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holieſt, where much of the like ſort, quietly accompanies an heap of old, broken earthen ware, conch-ſhells, and other conſecrated things.

The Moſaic ceremonial inſtitutions, are acknowledged by our beſt writers, to repreſent the Meſſiah, under various types and ſhadows; in like manner, the religious cuſtoms of the American Indians, ſeem to typify the ſame; according to the early divine promiſe, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the head of the ſerpent; and that it ſhould bruiſe his heel.—The Levitical high-prieſt wore a *breaſt-plate*, which they called *Hoſechim*, and on it the *Urim* and *Thummim*, ſignifying lights and perfections; for they are the plurals of אור, *Awóra*, (which inverted makes *Erowa*) and תורה, *Thòràh*,

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* Obſervant ubi feſta mero pede ſabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget ſenibus clementa porcis.
Juvenal, Sat. vi.

When the high-prieſt entered into the holieſt, on the day of expiation, he clothed himſelf in white; and, when he finiſhed that day's ſervice, he laid aſide thoſe clothes and left them in the tabernacle. *Lev.* xvi. 23.

When the Egyptian prieſts went to worſhip in their temples, they wore ſhoes of white parchment. Herodotus, Lib. ii. Cap. v.

the law, as it directed them under dark ſhadows, to Meſſiah, the lamp of light and perfections. In reſemblance of this ſacred pectoral, or breaſt-plate, the American *Archi-magus* wears a breaſt-plate, made of a white conch-ſhell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the ends of an otter-ſkin ſtrap, and faſtens a buck-horn white button to the outſide of each, as if in imitation of the precious ſtones of Urim, which miraculouſly blazoned from the high-prieſt's breaſt, the unerring words of the divine oracle. Inſtead of the plate of gold, which the Levite wore on his forehead, bearing theſe words, קדש לי יהוה, *Kadeſh li Yohewah*, "holy, or ſeparate to God," the Indian wears around his temples, either a wreath of ſwan-feathers, or a long piece of ſwan-ſkin doubled, ſo as only the fine ſnowy feathers appear on each ſide. And, in likeneſs to the *Tiara* of the former, the latter wears on the crown of his head, a tuft of white feathers, which they call *Yatèra*. He likewiſe faſtens a tuft of blunted wild Turkey cock-ſpurs, toward the toes of the upper part of his maccaſenes, as if in reſemblance to the ſeventy-two bells, which the Levitical high-prieſt wore on his coat of blue. Thoſe are as ſtrong religious pontifical emblems, as any old Hebrews could have well choſen, or retained under the like circumſtances of time and place. Thus appears the Indian Archimagus—not as *Merubha Begadim*, "the man with many clothes," as they called the high-prieſt of the ſecond temple, but with clothes proper to himſelf, when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of ſins *. As religion is the touchſtone of every nation of people, and as theſe Indians cannot be ſuppoſed to have been deluded out of theirs, ſeparated from the reſt of the world, for many long-forgotten ages—the traces which may be diſcerned among them, will help to corroborate the other arguments concerning their origin.

Theſe religious, beloved men are alſo ſuppoſed to be in great favour with the Deity, and able to procure rain when they pleaſe. In this reſpect alſo, we ſhall obſerve a great conformity to the practice of the Jews. The Hebrew records inform us, that in the moon *Abib*, or Niſan, they prayed for the ſpring, or latter rain, to be ſo ſeaſonable and ſufficient as to give them a good harveſt. And the Indian Americans have a tradition, that their forefathers ſought for and obtained ſuch ſeaſonable rains, as gave them plentiful crops; and they now ſeek them in a manner agreeable to the ſhadow of this tradition.

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* The only ornaments that diſtinguiſhed the high-prieſt from the reſt, were a coat with ſeventy-two bells, an ephod, or jacket without ſleeves, a breaſt-plate ſet with twelve ſtones; a linen mitre, and a plate of gold upon his forehead.

When the ground is parched, their *rain-makers*, (as they are commonly termed) are to mediate for the beloved red people, with the bountiful holy Spirit of fire. But their old cunning prophets are not fond of entering on this religious duty, and avoid it as long as they poſſibly can, till the murmurs of the people force them to the ſacred attempt, for the ſecurity of their own lives. If he fails, the prophet is ſhot dead, becauſe they are ſo credulous of his divine power conveyed by the holy Spirit of fire, that they reckon him an enemy to the ſtate, by averting the general good, and bringing deſolating famine upon the beloved people. But in general, he is ſo diſcerning in the ſtated laws of nature, and ſkilful in prieſtcraft, that he always ſeeks for rain, either at the full, or change of the moon; unleſs the birds, either by inſtinct, or the temperature of their bodies, ſhould direct him otherwiſe. However, if in a dry ſeaſon, the clouds, by the veering of the winds, paſs wide of their fields—while they are inveighing bitterly againſt him, ſome in ſpeech, and others in their hearts, he ſoon changes their well-known notes—he aſſumes a diſpleaſed countenance and carriage, and attacks them with bitter reproaches, for their vicious conduct in the marriage-ſtate, and for their notorious pollutions, by going to the women in their religious retirements, and for multifarious crimes that never could enter into his head to ſuſpect them of perpetrating, but that the divinity his holy things were endued with, had now ſuffered a great decay, although he had faſted, purified himſelf, and on every other account, had lived an innocent life, according to the old beloved ſpeech: adding, "*Loak Iſhtohoollo* will never be kind to bad people." He concludes with a religious caution to the penitent, adviſing them to mend their manners, and the times will mend with them: Then they depart with ſorrow and ſhame. The old women, as they go along, will exclaim loudly againſt the young people, and proteſt they will watch their manners very narrowly for the time to come, as they are ſure of their own ſteady virtue.

If a two-years drought happens, the ſynhedrim, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the mortified ſinners, convene in a body, and make proper enquiry into the true cauſe of their calamities; becauſe (ſay they) it is better to ſpoil a few roguiſh people, than a few roguiſh people ſhould ſpoil *Hottuk Oretoopah*: The lot ſoon falls upon Jonas, and he is immediately ſwallowed up. Too much rain is equally dangerous to thoſe red prophets.—I was lately told by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed character, that a famous rain-maker of the Muſkohge was ſhot dead, becauſe the river over-flowed their fields to a great height, in the middle of Auguſt, and deſtroyed their weighty harveſt. They aſcribed the miſchief to his ill-will; as the Deity, they ſay, doth not injure the virtuous, and deſigned him only to do good to the beloved people.

In the year 1747, a Nàchee warrior told me, that while one of their prophets was uſing his divine invocations for rain, according to the faint image of their ancient tradition, he was killed with thunder on the ſpot; upon which account, the ſpirit of prophecy ever after ſubſided among them, and he became the laſt of their reputed prophets. They believed the holy Spirit of fire had killed him with ſome of his angry darting fire, for wilful impurity; and by his threatening voice, forbad them to renew the like attempt—and juſtly concluded, that if they all lived well, they ſhould fare well, and have proper ſeaſons. This opinion coincides with that of the Iſraelites, in taking fire for the material emblem of Yohewah; by reckoning thunder the voice of the Almighty above, according to the ſcriptural language; by eſteeming thunder-ſtruck individuals under the diſpleaſure of heaven—and by obſerving and enforcing ſuch rules of purity, as none of the old pagan nations obſerved, nor any, except the Hebrews.

As the prophets of the Hebrews had oracular anſwers, ſo the Indian magi, who are to invoke YO He Wah, and mediate with the ſupreme holy fire, that he may give ſeaſonable rains, have a tranſparent ſtone, of ſuppoſed great power in aſſiſting to bring down the rain, when it is put in a baſon of water; by a reputed divine virtue, impreſſed on one of the like ſort, in time of old, which communicates it circularly. This ſtone would ſuffer a great decay, they aſſert, were it even ſeen by their own laity; but if by foreigners, it would be utterly deſpoiled of its divine communicative power. Doth not this allude to the precious blazoning ſtones of Urim and Thummim?

In Tymáhſe, a lower Cheerake town, lived one of their reputed great divine men, who never informed the people of his ſeeking for rain, but at the change, or full of the moon, unleſs there was ſome promiſing ſign of the change of the weather, either in the upper regions, or from the feathered kalender; ſuch as the quacking of ducks, the croaking of ravens, and from the moiſtneſs of the air felt in their quills; conſequently, he ſeldom failed of ſucceſs, which highly increaſed his name, and profits; for even when it rained at other times, they aſcribed it to the interceſſion of their great beloved man. Rain-making, in the Cheerake mountains, is not ſo dangerous an office, as in the rich level lands of the Chikkaſah country, near the Miſſiſippi. The above Cheerake prophet had a carbuncle, near as big as an egg, which they ſaid he found where a great rattle-ſnake lay dead, and that it ſparkled with ſuch ſurprizing luſtre, as to illuminate his dark winter-houſe, like ſtrong flaſhes of continued lightning, to the great terror of the weak, who durſt not upon any account, approach the dreadful fire-darting place, for fear of ſudden death. When he died, it was buried along with him according to cuſtom, in the town-houſe of Tymáhſe, under the great beloved cabbin, which ſtood in the weſternmoſt part of that old fabric, where they who will run the riſk of ſearching, may luckily find it; but, if any of that family detected them in diſturbing the bones of their deceaſed relation, they would reſent it as the baſeſt act of hoſtility. The inhuman conduct of the avaricious Spaniards toward the dead Peruvians and Mexicans, irritated the natives, to the higheſt pitch of diſtraction, againſt thoſe ravaging enemies of humanity. The intenſe love the Indians bear to their dead, is the reaſon that ſo few have fallen into the hands of our phyſicians to diſſect, or anatomiſe. We will hope alſo, that from a principle of humanity, our ague-charmers, and water-caſters, who like birds of night keep where the Indians frequently haunt, would not cut up their fellow-creatures, as was done by the Spaniſh butchers in Peru and Mexico.

Not long ago, at a friendly feaſt, or feaſt of love, in Weſt-Florida, during the time of a long-continued drought, I earneſtly importuned the old rain-maker, for a ſight of the pretended divine ſtone, which he had aſſured me he was poſſeſſed of; but he would by no means gratify my requeſt. He told me, as I was an infidel, literally, "one who ſhakes hands with the accurſed ſpeech," and did not believe its being endued with a divine power, the ſight of it could no ways benefit me; and that, as their old unerring tradition aſſured them, it would ſuffer very great damage in caſe of compliance, he hoped I would kindly acquieſce; eſpecially, as he imagined, I believed every nation of people had certain beloved things, that might be eaſily ſpoiled by being polluted. I told him I was fully ſatisfied with the friendly excuſe he made to my inconſiderate requeſt; but that I could ſcarcely imagine there were any ſuch beloved men, and beloved things, in ſo extremely fertile, but now ſun-burnt ſoil. Their crops had failed the year before, by reaſon of ſeveral concurring cauſes: and, for the moſt part of the ſummer ſeaſon, he had kept his bed through fear of incurring the puniſhment of a falſe prophet; which, joined with the religious regimen, and abſtemious way of living he was obliged ſtrictly to purſue, it ſweated him ſo ſeverely, as to reduce him to a ſkeleton. I jeſted him in a friendly way, ſaying, I imagined, the ſupreme holy fire would have proved more kind to his honeſt devotees, than to ſicken him ſo ſeverely, eſpecially at that critical ſeaſon, when the people's food, and his own, entirely depended on his health; that, though our beloved men never undertook to bring down ſeaſonable rains, yet we very ſeldom failed of good crops, and always paid them the tenth baſket-full of our yearly produce; becauſe, they perſuaded our young people, by the force of their honeſt example, and kind-hearted enchanting language, to ſhun the crooked ways of *Hottuk Kallákſe*, "the mad light people," and honeſtly to ſhake hands with the old beloved ſpeech—that the great, ſupreme, fatherly Chieftain, had told his *Loáche* to teach us how to obtain peace and plenty, and every other good thing while we live here, and when we die, not only to ſhun the accurſed dark place, where the ſun is every day drowned, but likewiſe to live again for ever, very happily in the favourite country.

He replied, that my ſpeech conſiſted of a mixture of good and ill; the beginning of it was crooked, and the concluſion ſtraight. He ſaid, I had wrongfully blamed him, for the effect of the diſorderly conduct of the red people and himſelf, as it was well known he faſted at different times for ſeveral days together; at other times ate green tobacco-leaves; and ſome days drank only a warm decoction of the button ſnake-root, without allowing any one, except his religious attendant, to come near him; and, in every other reſpect, had honeſtly obſerved the auſtere rules of his religious place, according to the beloved ſpeech that *Iſhtohoollo Elóa Aba* gave to the *Loáche* of their forefathers: but *Loak Iſhtohoollo* was ſorely vexed with moſt of their young people for violating the chaſtity of their neighbours wives, and even among the thriving green corn and peaſe, as their beds here and there clearly proved; thus, they ſpoiled the power of his holy things, and tempted *Minggo Iſhto Elóa*, "the great chieftain of the thunder," to bind up the clouds, and withold the rain. Beſides, that the old women were leſs honeſt in paying their rain-makers, than the Engliſh women behaved to their beloved men, unleſs I had ſpoken too well of them. The wives of this and the other perſon, he ſaid, had cheated him, in not paying him any portion of the laſt year's bad crop, which their own bad lives greatly contributed to, as that penurious crime of cheating him of his dues, ſufficiently teſtified; not to mention a late cuſtom, they had contracted ſince the general peace, of planting a great many fields of beans and peaſe, in diſtant places, after the ſummer-crops were over, on the like diſhoneſt principle; likewiſe in affirming, that when the firſt harveſt was over, it rained for nothing; by that means they had blackened the old beloved ſpeech, that *Iſhtohoollo Eloa* of old ſpoke to his *Loáche*, and conveyed down to him, only that they might paint their own bad actions white. He concluded, by ſaying, that all the chieftains, and others preſent, as well as myſelf, knew now very well, from his honeſt ſpeech, the true cauſe of the earth's having been ſo ſtrangely burnt till lately; and that he was afraid, if the hearts of thoſe light and mad people he complained of, did not ſpeedily grow honeſt, the dreadful day would ſoon come, in which *Lóak Iſhtohoollo* would ſend *Phutchik Keeraah Iſhtò*, "the great blazing ſtar," *Yahkàne eeklénna*, *Loak loáchàché*, "to burn up half of the earth with fire," *Pherimmi Aiúbe*, "from the north to the ſouth," *Haſſé oobèa perà*, "toward the ſetting of the ſun," where they ſhould in time arrive at the dreadful place of darkneſs, be confined there hungry, and otherwiſe ſorely diſtreſt among hiſſing ſnakes and many other frightful creatures, according to the ancient true ſpeech that *Iſhtohoollo Aba* ſpoke to his beloved *Loáche.*

Under this argument, I will alſo mention another ſtriking reſemblance to the Jews, as to their TITHES.—As the ſacerdotal office was fixed in the tribe of Levi, they had forty-eight cities allotted them from the other tribes. And Moſes aſſures us, in *Deut.* xiv. 28, 29, that thoſe tribes paid them alſo once in three years, the tithe, or tenth of all they poſſeſſed, which is ſuppoſed to be about the thirtieth part of their annual poſſeſſions; by which means they were reaſonably maintained, as ſpiritual paſtors, and enabled to fulfil the extenſive and charitable application of their dues, as enjoined.

It hath been already hinted, that the Indian prophets undertake by the emanation of the divine ſpirit of fire, co-operating with them, to bring down proper rains for crops, on the penalty of looſing their own lives; as the Indians reckon that a regular virtuous life will ſufficiently enable their great beloved men to bring bleſſings of plenty to the beloved people; and if they neglect it, they are dangerous enemies, and a great curſe to the community. They imagine his prophetic power is alſo reſtrictive as to winter-rains, they doing more hurt than good; for they juſtly obſerve, that their ground ſeldom ſuffers by the want of winter-rains. Their ſentiments on this head, are very ſtrong; they ſay, *Iſhtohoollo Aba* allows the winter-rain to fall unſought, but that he commanded their forefathers to ſeek for the ſummer-rain, according to the old law, otherwiſe he would not give it to them. If the ſeaſons have been anſwerable, when the ripened harveſt is gathered in, the old women pay their reputed prophet with religious good-will, a certain proportional quantity of each kind of the new fruits, meaſured in the ſame large portable back-baſkets, wherein they carried home the ripened fruits. This ſtated method they yearly obſerve; which is as conſonant to the Levitical inſtitution, as can be reaſonably expected, eſpecially, as their traditions have been time out of mind preſerved only by oral echo.

Modern writers inform us, that the Perſees pay a tithe of their revenues to the chief Deſtour, or Archimagus of a city or province, who decides caſes of conſcience, and points of law, according to the inſtitution of Zoroaſter—a mixture of Judaiſm and paganiſm. Their annual religious offering to the Archimagi, is a miſapplication of the Levitical law concerning tithes, contrary to the uſage of the American Aborigines, which it may be ſuppoſed they immediately derived from the Hebrews; for, as the twelfth tribe was devoted to the divine ſervice, they were by divine appointment, maintained at the public expence. However, when we conſider that their government was of a mixed kind—firſt a theocracy—then by nobles, and by kings—and at other times by their high-prieſt, it ſeems to appear pretty plain, that the Deity raiſed, preſerved, and governed thoſe people, to oppoſe idolatry, and continue, till the fulneſs of time came, the true divine worſhip on earth, under ceremonial dark ſhadows, without exhibiting their government in the leaſt, as a plan of future imitation. Beſides, as Meſſiah is come, according to the predictions of the divine oracles, which repreſented him under various ſtrong types and ſhadows, ſurely chriſtians ought to follow the copy of their humble Maſter and his holy diſciples, and leave the fleecing of the flock to the avaricious Jews, whoſe religious tenets, and rapacious principles, ſupport them in taking annual tithes from each other; who affect to believe that all the Moſaic law is perpetually binding, and that the predicted Shilo, who is to be their purifier, king, prophet, and high-prieſt, is not yet come. The *law of tithing*, was calculated only for the religious œconomy of the Hebrew nation; for as the merciful Deity, who was the immediate head of that ſtate, had appropriated the Levites to his ſervice, and prohibited them purchaſing land, leſt they ſhould be ſeduced from their religious duties, by worldly cares, He, by a moſt bountiful law, ordered the ſtate to give them the tithe, and other offerings, for the ſupport of themſelves and their numerous families, and alſo of the widow, the fatherleſs, and the ſtranger.

I ſhall inſert a dialogue, that formerly paſſed between the Chikkaſah Loáche and me, which will illuſtrate both this, and other particulars of the general ſubject; and alſo ſhew the religious advantages and arguments, by which the French uſed to undermine us with the Indians.

We had been ſpeaking of trade, which is the uſual topic of diſcourſe with thoſe craftſmen. I aſked him how he could reaſonably blame the Engliſh traders for cheating *Tekapê húmmah*, "the red folks," even allowing his accuſations to be juſt; as he, their divine man, had cheated them out of a great part of their crops, and had the aſſurance to claim it as his religious due, when at the ſame time, if he had ſhaked hands with the ſtraight old beloved ſpeech, or ſtrictly obſerved the ancient divine law, his feeling heart would not have allowed him to have done ſuch black and crooked things, eſpecially to the helpleſs, the poor, and the aged;

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it rather would have ſtrongly moved him to ſtretch out to them a kind and helping hand, according to the old beloved ſpeech of *Iſhtohoollo Aba* to his *Hottuk Iſhtohoollo*, who were ſufficiently ſupported at the public expence, and ſtrictly ordered to ſupply with the greateſt tenderneſs, the wants of others.

He ſmartly retorted my objections, telling me, that the white people's excuſes for their own wrong conduct, were as falſe and weak as my complaints were againſt him. The red people, he ſaid, ſaw very clearly through ſuch thin black paint; though, his ſacred employment was equally hid from them and me; by which means, neither of us could reaſonably pretend to be proper judges of his virtuous conduct, nor blame him for the neceſſary effect of our own crimes; or urge it as a plea for cheating him out of his yearly dues, contrary to the old divine ſpeech, for the crops became light by their own vicious conduct, which ſpoiled the power of his holy things. So that it was viſible, both the red and white people were commonly too partial to themſelves; and that by the bounty of the ſupreme fatherly Chieftain, it was as much out of his power, as diſtant from his kindly heart, either to wrong the beloved red people, or the white nothings; and that it became none, except mad light people, to follow the crooked ſteps of *Hottuk Ookproofe*, the accurſed people.

As there was no interruption to our winter-night's chat, I aſked him in a friendly manner, whether he was not afraid, thus boldly to ſnatch at the divine power of diſtributing rain at his pleaſure, as it belonged only to the great beloved thundering Chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire, and who gives it in common to all nations of people alike, and even to every living creature over the face of the whole earth, becauſe he made them—and his merciful goodneſs always prompts him to ſupply the wants of all his creatures. He told me, that by an ancient tradition, their *Loáche* were poſſeſſed of an extraordinary divine power, by which they foretold hidden things, and by the beloved ſpeech brought down ſhowers of plenty to the beloved people; that he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature reſided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewiſe above the clouds and the ſun, in the ſhape of a fine fiery ſubſtance, attended by a great many beloved people; and that he continually weighs us, and meaſures out good or bad things to us, according to our actions. He added, that though the former beloved ſpeech had a long time ſubſided, it was very reaſonable they ſhould ſtill continue this their old beloved cuſtom; eſpecially as it was both profitable in ſupporting many of their helpleſs old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws. This ſhewed him to be cunning in prieſtcraft, if not poſſeſſed of a tradition from the Hebrew records, that their prophets by the divine power, had, on material occaſions, acted beyond the ſtated laws of nature, and wrought miracles.

My old prophetic friend told me, with a good deal of ſurprize, that though the beloved red people had by ſome means or other, loſt the old beloved ſpeech; yet *Frenſhe Lakkàne ookproo*, "the ugly yellow French," (as they term the Miſſiſippians) had by ſome wonderful method obtained it; for his own people, he aſſured me, had ſeen them at New Orleans to bring down rain in a very dry ſeaſon, when they were giving out ſeveral bloody ſpeeches to their head warriors againſt the Engliſh Chikkaſah traders. On a miſchievous politic invitation of the French, ſeveral of the Chikkaſah had then paid them a viſit, in the time of an alarming drought and a general faſt, when they were praying for ſeaſonable rains at maſs. When they came, the interpreter was ordered to tell them, that the French had holy places and holy things, after the manner of the red people—that if their young people proved honeſt, they could bring down rain whenever they ſtood in need of it—and that this was one of the chief reaſons which induced all the various nations of the beloved red people to bear them ſo intenſe a love; and, on the contrary, ſo violent and inexpreſſible an hatred even to the very name of the Engliſh, becauſe every one of them was marked with *Anumbole Ookkproo*, "the curſe of God."

The method the Chikkaſah prophet uſed in relating the affair, has ſome humour in it—for their ignorance of the chriſtian religion, and inſtitutions, perplexes them when they are on the ſubject; on which account I ſhall literally tranſcribe it.

He told me, that the Chikkaſah warriors during three ſucceſſive days, accompanied the French *Loáche* and *Iſhtohoollo* to the great beloved houſe, where a large bell hung a-top, which ſtrange ſight exceedingly ſurprized them; for, inſtead of being fit for a horſe, it would require a great many ten horſes to carry it. Around the inſide of the beloved houſe, there was a multitude of he and ſhe beloved people, or male and female ſaints or angels, whoſe living originals, they affirmed, dwelt above the clouds, and helped them to get every good thing from *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, when they earneſtly crave their help. The French beloved men ſpoke a great deal with much warmth; the reſt were likewiſe buſily employed in imitation of their *Iſhtohoollo* and *Loáche*. At one time they ſpoke high, at another low. One choſe this, and another choſe that ſong. Here the men kneeled before the images of their ſhe-beloved people; there the women did the like before their favourite and beloved he-pictures, entreating them for ſome particular favour which they ſtood in need of. Some of them, he ſaid, made very wild motions over their heads and breaſts; and others ſtruck their ſtomachs with a vehemence like their warriors, when they drink much *Ookka Homma*, "bitter waters," or ſpirituous liquor; while every one of them had a bunch of mixed beads, to which they frequently ſpoke, as well as counted over; that they loved theſe beads, for our people ſtrictly obſerved, they did not give them to their *Loáche* and *Iſhtohoollo*, as the red people would have done to thoſe of their own country, though it was very plain they deſerved them, for beating themſelves ſo much for the young people's roguiſh actions; and likewiſe for labouring ſo ſtrongly in pulling off their clothes, and putting them on again, to make the beloved phyſic work, which they took in ſmall pieces, to help to bring on the rain. On the third day (added he) they brought it down in great plenty, which was certainly a very difficult performance; and as ſurprizing too, that they who are always, when opportunity anſwers, perſuading the red people to take up the bloody hatchet againſt their old ſteady friends, ſhould ſtill have the beloved ſpeech, which *Iſhtohoollo Aba Eloa* formerly ſpoke to his beloved *Loáche*. ——Thus ended our friendly diſcourſe.

ARGUMENT VIII.

Their Festivals, Fasts, and Religious Rites, have alſo a great reſemblance to thoſe of the Hebrews. It will be neceſſary here to take a ſhort view of the principal Jewiſh feaſts, &c. They kept every year, a ſacred feaſt called the Paſſover, in memory of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Seven days were appointed, *Lev.* xxiii.—To theſe they added an eighth, through a religious principle, as preparatory, to clear their houſes of all leaven, and to fix their minds before they entered on that religious duty. The name of this feſtival is derived from a word which ſignifies to "paſs over;" becauſe, when the deſtroying angel flew through the Egyptian houſes, and killed their firſt-born, he paſſed over thoſe of the Iſraelites, the tops of whoſe doors were ſtained with the blood of the lamb, which they were ordered to kill. This ſolemnity was inſtituted with the ſtrongeſt injunctions, to let their children know the cauſe of that obſervance, and to mark that night through all their generations.

Three days before this ſacred feſtival, they choſe a lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, and killed it on the evening of the fourteenth day of Abib, which was the firſt moon of the eccleſiaſtical, and the ſeventh of the civil year; and they ate it with bitter herbs, without breaking any of the bones of it, thus prefiguring the death of Meſſiah. This was the reaſon that this was the chief of the days of unleavened bread, and they were ſtrictly forbidden all manner of work on that day; beſides, no uncircumciſed, or unclean perſons ate of the paſchal lamb. Thoſe of the people, whom diſeaſes or long journies prevented from obſerving the paſſover on that day, were obliged to keep it in the next moon.

On the ſixteenth day, which was the ſecond of the paſſover, they offered up to God a ſheaf of the new barley-harveſt, becauſe it was the earlieſt grain. The prieſt carried it into the temple, and having cleaned and parched it, he grinded or pounded it into flower, dipt it in oil, and then waved it before the Lord, throwing ſome into the fire. The Jews were forbidden to eat any of their new harveſt, till they had offered up a ſheaf, the grain of which filled an omer, a ſmall meaſure of about five pints. All was impure and unholy till this oblation was made, but afterwards it became hallowed, and every one was at liberty to reap and get in his harveſt.

On the tenth day of the moon Ethanim, the firſt day of the civil year, they celebrated the great faſt, or feaſt of expiation, afflicted their ſouls, and ate nothing the whole day. The high-prieſt offered ſeveral ſacrifices, and having carried the blood of the victims into the temple, he ſprinkled it upon the altar of incenſe, and the veil that was before the holieſt; and went into that moſt ſacred place, where the divine Shekinah reſided, carrying a cenſer ſmoking in his hand with incenſe, which hindered him from having a clear ſight of the ark. But he was not allowed to enter that holy place, only once a year, on this great day of expiation, to offer the general ſacrifice both for the ſins of the people and of himſelf. Nor did he ever mention the divine four-lettered name, YO He WaH, except on this great day, when he bleſſed the people.

Becauſe the Iſraelites lived in tabernacles, or booths, while they were in the wilderneſs; as a memorial therefore of the divine bounty to them, they were commanded to keep the feaſt of tabernacles, on the fifteenth day of the month Tiſri, which they called *Roſh Hoſanah*, or *Hoſhianah*, it laſted eight days; during which time, they lived in arbours, (covered with green boughs of trees) unleſs when they went to worſhip at the temple, or ſung *Hoſhaniyo* around the altar. When they were on this religious duty, they were obliged each to carry in their hands a bundle of the branches of willows, palm-trees, myrtles, and others of different ſorts, laden with fruit, and tied together with ribbons; and thus rejoice together with the appointed ſingers, and vocal and inſtrumental muſic, in the divine preſence before the altar. On the eighth day of the feaſt, one of the prieſts brought ſome water in a golden veſſel, from the pool of Siloam, mixed it with wine, and poured it on the morning-ſacrifice, and the firſt fruits of their latter crops which were then preſented, as an emblem of the divine graces that ſhould flow to them, when Shilo came, who was to be their anointed king, prophet, and high-prieſt—The people in the mean time ſinging out of Iſaiah " with joy ſhall ye draw water out of the wells of ſalvation."

Let us now turn to the copper colour American Hebrews.—While their ſanctified new fruits are dreſſing, a religious attendant is ordered to call ſix of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved ſpeech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the ſuppoſed holy ground in ſolemn proceſſion, each carrying in her hand a bundle of ſmall branches of various green trees; and they join the ſame number of old magi, or prieſts, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewiſe green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with ſeveral rounds. Thoſe beloved men have their heads dreſſed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their fineſt, and anointed with bear's-greaſe, having ſmall tortoiſe-ſhells, and white pebbles, faſtened to a piece of white-dreſt deer-ſkin, which is tied to each of their legs.

The eldeſt of the prieſts leads the ſacred dance, a-head of the innermoſt row, which of courſe is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the ſuppoſed holy fire, by invoking YAH, after their uſual manner, on a baſs key, and with a ſhort accent; then he ſings YO YO, which is repeated by the reſt of the religious proceſſion; and he continues his ſacred invocations and praiſes, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the ſame point of the circular courſe, where they began: then HE HE in like manner, and WAH WAH. While dancing they never fail to repeat thoſe notes; and frequently the holy train ſtrike up *Halelu*, *Halelu*; then *Haleluiah*, *Halelu-Yah*, and ALELUIAH and ALELU-YAH, "Irradiation to the divine eſſence," with great earneſtneſs and fervor, till they encircle the altar, while each ſtrikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed. Then the awful drums join the ſacred choir, which incite the old female ſingers to chant forth their pious notes, and grateful praiſes before the divine eſſence, and to redouble their former quick joyful ſteps, in imitation of the leader of the ſacred dance, and the religious men a-head of them. What with the manly ſtrong notes of the one, and the ſhrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-ſhells, and the two ſounding, drum-like earthen veſſels, with the voices of the muſicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praiſes of YO HE WAH. Their ſinging and dancing in three circles around their ſacred fire, appears to have a reference to a like religious cuſtom of the Hebrews. And may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they formerly underſtood the pſalms, or divine hymns? at leaſt thoſe that begin with *Halelu-Yah*; otherwiſe, how came all the inhabitants of the extenſive regions of North and South-America, to have, and retain thoſe very expreſſive Hebrew words? or how repeat them ſo diſtinctly, and apply them after the manner of the Hebrews, in their religious acclamations? The like cannot be found in any other countries.

In like manner, they ſing on other religious occaſions, and at their feaſts of love, *Ale-Yo Ale-Yo*; which is אל, the divine name, by his attribute of omnipotence; and י, alluding to יהוה. They ſing likewiſe *Hewah Hewah*, which is חוה "the immortal ſoul;" drawn from the divine eſſential name, as deriving its rational faculties from YOHEWAH. Thoſe words that they ſing in their religious dances, they never repeat at any other time; which ſeems to have greatly occaſioned the loſs of the meaning of their divine hymns; for I believe they are now ſo corrupt, as not to underſtand either the ſpiritual or literal meaning of what they ſing, any further than by alluſion.

In their circuiting dances, they frequently ſing on a baſs key, *Alué Alué*; *Alùhé*, *Aluhé*, and *Aluwàh Aluwàh*, which is the Hebrew אלוה. They likewiſe ſing *Shilù-Yó Shilù-Yó*, *Shilù-Hé Shilù-Hé*, *Shilù-Wàh Shilù-Wàh*, and *Shilù-Hàh Shilù-Hàh*. They tranſpoſe them alſo ſeveral ways, but with the very ſame notes. The three terminations make up in their order the four-lettered divine name. *Hah* is a note of gladneſs—the word preceding it, *Shilù*, ſeems to expreſs the predicted human and divine שילוה, Shiloh, who was to be the purifier, and peace-maker.

They continue their grateful divine hymns for the ſpace of fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up. As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and ſhorten the time of their faſts and purifications; inſomuch, that they have ſo exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and cuſtoms, within the ſpace of the laſt thirty years, that, at the ſame rate of declenſion, there will not be long a poſſibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-cuſtoms.

At the end of this notable religious dance, the old beloved, or holy women return home to haſten the feaſt of the new-ſanctified fruits. In the mean while, every one at the temple drinks very plentifully of the Caſſeena and other bitter liquids, to cleanſe their ſinful bodies; after which, they go to ſome convenient deep water, and there, according to the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, they waſh away their ſins with water. Thus ſanctified, they return with joyful hearts in ſolemn proceſſion, ſinging their notes of praiſe, till they enter into the holy ground to eat of the new delicious fruits of wild Canaan *. The women now with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, bring to the outſide of the ſacred ſquare, a plentiful variety of all thoſe good things, with which the divine fire has bleſſed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their ſtated order and reputed merit. Every ſeat is ſerved in a gradual ſucceſſion, from the white and red imperial long broad ſeats, and the whole ſquare is ſoon covered: frequently they have a change of courſes of fifty or ſixty different ſorts, and thus they continue to regale themſelves, till the end of the feſtival; for they reckon they are now to feaſt themſelves with joy and gladneſs, as the divine fire is appeaſed for paſt crimes, and has propitiouſly ſanctified their weighty harveſt. They all behave ſo modeſtly, and are poſſeſſed of ſuch an extraordinary conſtancy and equanimity, in the purſuit of their religious myſteries, that they do not ſhew the leaſt outward emotion of pleaſure, at the firſt ſight of the ſanctified new fruits; nor the leaſt uneaſineſs to be taſting thoſe tempting delicious fat things of Canaan. If one of them acted in a contrary manner, they would ſay to him, *Che-Hakſet Kaneha*, "You reſemble ſuch as were beat in Canaan." This unconcern, doubtleſs proceeded originally from a virtuous principle; but now, it may be the mere effect of habit: for, jealouſy and revenge excepted, they ſeem to be diveſted of every mental paſſion, and entirely incapable of any laſting affection.

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* They are ſo ſtrictly prohibited from eating ſalt, or fleſh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at leaſt ten days before this great feſtival, and religiouſly keep it for that ſacred uſe.

I ſhall give an inſtance of this.—If the huſband has been a year abſent on a viſit to another nation, and ſhould by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children ſkipping along ſide of her; inſtead of thoſe ſudden and ſtrong emotions of joy that naturally ariſe in two generous breaſts at ſuch an unexpected meeting, the ſelf-intereſted pair go along as utter ſtrangers, without ſeeming to take the leaſt notice of one another, till a conſiderable time after they get home.

The Indians formerly obſerved the grand feſtival of the annual expiation of ſin, at the beginning of the firſt new moon, in which their corn became full-eared; but for many years paſt they are regulated by the ſeaſon of their harveſt. And on that head, they ſhew more religious patience than the Hebrews formerly did; who, inſtead of waiting till their grain was ripe, forced their barley, which ripened before any other ſort they planted. And they are perhaps as ſkilful in obſerving the revolutions of the moon, as ever the Iſraelites were, at leaſt till the end of the firſt temple; for during that period, inſtead of meaſuring time by aſtronomical calculations, they knew it only by the phaſes of the moon. In like manner, the ſuppoſed red Hebrews of the American deſarts, annually obſerved their feſtivals, and *Neetak Yáh-àh*, "days of afflicting themſelves before the Deity," at a prefixed time of a certain moon. To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always ſanctifies himſelf, and his out-ſtanding company, at the end of the old moon, ſo as to go off at the appearance of the new one by day-light; whereas, he who has not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed himſelf, muſt ſet out in the night.

As the firſt of the *Neetak Hoollo*, precedes a long ſtrict faſt of two nights and a day, they gormandize ſuch a prodigious quantity of ſtrong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the ſucceeding faſt, the ſabbath of ſabbaths, the *Neetak Yah-ah:* the feaſt laſts only from morning till ſun-ſet. Being great lovers of the ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet, with a near view of them; and having lived at this ſeaſon, but meanly on the wild products of nature—ſuch a faſt as this may be truly ſaid to afflict their ſouls, and to prove a ſufficient trial of their religious principles. During the feſtival, ſome of their people are cloſely employed in putting their temple in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabbin, and the ſuppoſed holieſt, with white clay; for it is a ſacred, peaceable place, and white is its emblem. Some, at the ſame time are likewiſe painting the war-cabbin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occaſion requires; while others of an inferior order, are covering all the ſeats of the beloved ſquare with new mattreſſes, made out of the fine ſplinters of long canes, tied together with flags. In the mean time, ſeveral of them are buſy in ſweeping the temple, clearing it of every ſuppoſed polluting thing, and carrying out the aſhes from the hearth which perhaps had not been cleaned ſix times ſince the laſt year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual ſacrifice; and, if the whole nation lies in a narrow compaſs, they make but one annual offering: by which means, either through a ſenſual or religious principle, they ſtrike off the work with joyful hearts. Every thing being thus prepared, the *Archi-magus* orders ſome of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar, and to ſweep out the remains that by chance might either be left, or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-ſnake-root, with ſome green leaves of an uncommon ſmall ſort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water *.

Immediately, the *magi* order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had deſignedly choſen, and laid down on the outſide of the ſuppoſed holy ground: the women, in the interim are buſy at home in cleaning out their houſes, renewing the old hearths, and cleanſing all their culinary veſſels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the ſanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law; leſt by a contrary conduct, they ſhould incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is freſh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of theſe numerous nations of Indians would eat, or even handle any part of the new harveſt, till ſome of it had been offered up at the yearly feſtival by the *Archi-magus*, or thoſe of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harveſt of the paſt year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits, to ſuſtain life. Notwithſtanding they are viſibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious obſervance, except what concerns war; yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on ſuch harſh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than tranſgreſs that divine precept given to their forefathers.

Having every thing in order for the ſacred ſolemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feaſt, and lay them on the outſide of the ſquare; others of an inferior order carefully ſweep out the ſmalleſt crumbs, for fear of polluting the firſt-fruit offering; and before ſun-ſet, the temple muſt be cleared, even of every kind of veſſel or utenſil, that had contained, or been uſed about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off, but none of that ſex, except half a dozen of old beloved women, are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground, till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved ſquare, and obſerve the faſt; he likewiſe exhorts all the women and children, and thoſe who have not initiated themſelves in war, to keep apart from them, according to law. Should any of them prove diſobedient, the young ones would be dry-ſcratched, and the others ſtript of every thing they had on them. They obſerve the ſame ſtrict law of purity, in their method of ſanctifying themſelves for war, in order to obtain the divine protection, aſſiſtance, and ſucceſs. But a few weeks ſince, when a large company of theſe warlike ſavages were on the point of ſetting off to commence war againſt the Muſkohge, ſome of the wags decoyed a heedleſs trader into their holy ground, and they ſtript him, ſo as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like treſpaſs, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obſtinate parents paid the like ranſom.

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* Under the palladium of Troy, were placed things of the like nature, as a preſervative from evil; but the above practice ſeems to be pretty much tempered with the Moſaic inſtitution; for God commanded them to make an altar of earth, to ſacrifice thereon. *Exod.* xx. 24.

Their great beloved man, or *Archi-magus*, now places four centinels, one at each corner of the holy ſquare, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the firſt-fruit-offering, and that of marriage, ſince the laſt year's expiation. Thoſe centinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their ſacred truſt; if they diſcerned a dog or cat on the outlimits of the holy ſquare, before the firſt-fruit-offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the ſpot.

They obſerve the faſt till the riſing of the ſecond ſun; and be they ever ſo hungry in that ſacred interval, the healthy warriors deem the duty ſo awful, and the violation ſo inexpreſſibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the neceſſary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befel him in the new year, as the ſinful author of his evils; and would ſooner ſhoot themſelves, than ſuffer ſuch long-continued ſharp diſgrace. The religious attendants boil a ſufficient quantity of button-ſnake-root, highly imbittered, and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their ſinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themſelves, till the end of the faſt. When we conſider their earneſt invocations of the divine eſſence, in this ſolemnity—their great knowledge of ſpecific virtues in ſimples—that they never apply the aforeſaid root, only on religious occaſions—that they frequently drink it to ſuch exceſs as to impair their health,

and

and ſometimes ſo as to poiſon themſelves by its acrid quality—and take into the account, its well-known medicinal property of curing the bite of the moſt dangerous ſort of the ſerpentine generation; muſt not one think, that the Aboriginal Americans choſe it, as a ſtrong emblem of the certain cure of the bite of the old ſerpent in Eden.

That the women and children, and thoſe worthleſs fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defence of their holy places and holy things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godleſs, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the ſmall-leafed green tobacco, on the outſide of a corner of the ſacred ſquare; and an old beloved woman, carries it off, and diſtributes it to the ſinners without, in large pieces, which they chew heartily, and ſwallow, in order to afflict their ſouls. She commends thoſe who perform the duty with cheerfulneſs, and chides thoſe who ſeem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces on account of the bitterneſs of the ſuppoſed ſanctifying herb. She diſtributes it in ſuch quantities, as ſhe thinks are equal to their capacity of ſinning; giving to the reputed, worthleſs old He-hen-pickers, the proportion only of a child, becauſe ſhe thinks ſuch ſpiritleſs pictures of men cannot ſin with married women; as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often ſucceſsfully accompanied the beloved ark.

In the time of this general faſt, the women, children, and men of weak conſtitutions, are allowed to eat, as ſoon as they are certain the ſun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude; but not before that period. Their indulgence to the ſick and weak, ſeems to be derived from divine precept, which forbad the offering of ſacrifice at the coſt of mercy; and the ſnake-root joined with their ſanctifying bitter green tobacco, ſeem to be as ſtrong expreſſive emblems as they could have poſſibly choſen, according to their ſituation in life, to repreſent the ſacred inſtitution of eating the paſchal lamb, with bitter herbs; and to ſhew, that though the old ſerpent bit us in Eden, yet there is a branch from the root of Jeſſe, to be hoped for by thoſe who deny themſelves their preſent ſweet taſte, which will be a ſufficient purifier, and effect the cure.

The whole time of this faſt may with truth be called a faſt, and to the *Archi-magus*, to all the *magi*, and pretended prophets, in particular; for, by ancient cuſtom, the former is obliged to eat of the ſanctifying ſmall-leafed tobacco, and drink the ſnake-root, in a ſeparate hut for the ſpace of three days and nights without any other ſubſiſtence, before the ſolemnity begins; beſides his full portion along with the reſt of the religious order, and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general faſt, which he pretends to obſerve with the ſtricteſt religion. After the firſt-fruits are ſanctified, he lives moſt abſtemiouſly till the end of the annual expiation, only ſucking water-melons now and then to quench thirſt, and ſupport life, ſpitting out the more ſubſtantial part.

By the Levitical law, the prieſts were obliged to obſerve a ſtricter ſanctity of life than the laity; all the time they were performing the ſacerdotal offices, both women and wine were ſtrictly forbidden to them. Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their ſacred myſteries to death, and the *Archi-magus* is viſibly thin and meagre at the end of the ſolemnity. That rigid ſelf-denial, ſeems to have been deſigned to initiate the Levite, and give the reſt an example of leading an innocent ſimple life, that thereby they might be able to ſubdue their unruly paſſions; and that by mortifying and purifying himſelf ſo exceſſively, the ſacrifice by paſſing through his pure hands, may be accepted, and the holy Spirit of fire atoned, according to the divine law. The ſuperannuated religious are alſo emulous in the higheſt degree, of excelling one another in their long faſting; for they firmly believe, that ſuch an annual ſelf-denying method is ſo highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the reſt of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil, and producing good things, through the new year. They declare that a ſteady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly inſure them a laſting round of happineſs.

At the end of this ſolemn faſt, the women by the voice of a crier, bring to the outſide of the holy ſquare, a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly dreſt, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their ſeveral duties, with regard both to time and place. The centinels report the affair, and ſoon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the proviſions, and ſet them down before the famiſhed multitude. Though moſt of the people may have ſeen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to ſhew a gladneſs for the end of their religious duties; and ſhameful to haſten the holy attendants, as they are all capable of their ſacred offices. They are as ſtrict obſervers of all their ſet forms, as the Iſraelites were of thoſe they had from divine appointment.

Before noon, the temple is ſo cleared of every thing the women brought to the ſquare, that the feſtival after that period, reſembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, conſiſting only in a deluſion of the ſenſes. The women then carry the veſſels from the temple to the water, and waſh them clean for fear of pollution. As ſoon as the ſun is viſibly declining from his meridian, this third day of the faſt, the *Archi-magus* orders a religious attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the ſacred altar — commanding every one of them to ſtay within their own houſes, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the leaſt bad thing — and to be ſure to extinguiſh, and throw away every ſpark of the old fire; otherwiſe, the divine fire will bite them ſeverely with bad diſeaſes, ſickneſs, and a great many other evils, which he ſententiouſly enumerates, and finiſhes his monitory caution, by laying life and death before them.

Now every thing is huſhed.—Nothing but ſilence all around: the *Archi-magus*, and his beloved waiter, riſing up with a reverend carriage, ſteady countenance, and compoſed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holieſt, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, ſo as not to reach through it, he then ſharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briſkly for ſeveral minutes, till it begins to ſmoke — or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately iſſue from the holy Spirit of fire. The Muſkohge call the fire their grandfather — and the ſupreme Father of mankind, *Eſakàta-Emiſhe*, " the breath maſter," as it is commonly explained. When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cheriſhes it with fine chips, or ſhaved ſplinters of pitch-pine, which had been depoſited in the holieſt: then he takes the unſullied wing of a ſwan, fans it gently, and cheriſhes it to a flame. On this, the *Archi-magus* brings it out in an old earthen veſſel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the ſacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs. It is obſervable, that when the Levites laid wood on the ſacred fire, it was unlawful for them either to blow it with bellows, or their breath. The Magians, or followers of Zoroaſter, poured oil on their ſuppoſed holy fire, and left it to the open air to kindle it into flame. Is not this religious ceremony of theſe deſolate Indians a ſtrong imitation, or near reſemblance of the Jewiſh cuſtoms?

Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is ſuppoſed to atone for all their paſt crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter ſhews his pleaſure, by his cheerful induſtry in feeding it with dry freſh wood; for they put no rotten wood on it, any more than the Levites would on their ſacred altars. Although the people without, may well know what is tranſacting within, yet, by order, a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a baſket-full of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved ſquare. As ſhe before had been appointed, and religiouſly prepared for that ſolemn occaſion, ſhe readily obeys, and ſoon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved ſquare. By ancient cuſtom, ſhe may either return home, or ſtand there, till the expiation of ſin hath been made, which is thus performed—The *Archi-magus*, or fire-maker, riſes from his white ſeat and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a ſlow pace, and in a very ſedate and grave manner, ſtopping now and then, and ſpeaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expreſſion, which none underſtand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally ſecrete their religious myſteries, that they may not be prophaned. He then takes a little of each ſort of the new harveſt, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the ſuppoſed holy ground, rubs ſome bear's oil over it, and offers it up together with ſome fleſh, to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire, as a firſt-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for ſin. He likewiſe conſecrates the button-ſnake-root, and the caſſeena, by pouring a little of thoſe two ſtrong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white ſeats with thoſe bitter liquids, and ſits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been catched a tripping, may ſafely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themſelves, and dreſs in their fineſt, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful diſtance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is ſoon ordered to call to the women around, to come for the ſacred fire: they gladly obey.—When they come to the outſide of the quadrangular holy ground, the *Archi-magus* addreſſes the warriors, and gives them all the particular poſitive injunctions, and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly ſtation. Then he changes his note, and uſes a much ſharper language to the women, as ſuſpecting their former virtue. He firſt tells them very earneſtly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguiſhed the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they muſt forthwith depart, leſt the divine fire ſhould ſpoil both them and the people; he charges them to be ſure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unſanctified, or impure food, otherwiſe they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diſeaſes, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themſelves, and all the beloved, or holy people. This ſeems to allude to the theocratic government of the Jews, when ſuch daring criminals were afflicted with immediate and viſible divine puniſhment.

In his female lecture, he is ſharp and prolix: he urges them with much earneſtneſs to an honeſt obſervance of the marriage-law, which may be readily excuſed, on account of the prevalent paſſion of ſelf-intereſt. Our own chriſtian orators do not exert themſelves with half the eloquence or eagerneſs, as when that is at ſtake which they moſt value. And the old wary ſavage has ſenſe enough to know, that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded ſo much by inward principle, as the fear of ſhame, and of incurring ſevere puniſhment; but if every buſh of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a ſufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that it is natural they ſhould ſpeak much on this part of the ſubject, as they think they have much at ſtake. After that, he addreſſes himſelf to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expreſſive geſtures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all thoſe ſhameful adulterous criminals into ſocial privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be ſure to remember well, and ſtrongly ſhake hands with the old beloved ſtraight ſpeech, otherwiſe the divine fire, which ſees, hears, and knows them, will ſpoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapſe, and commit that deteſtable crime. Then he enumerates all the ſuppoſed leſſer crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, aſſuring them, that upon their careful obſervance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harveſts, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies—and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and proſperity are certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, ſuch as hunger, uncommon diſeaſes, a ſubjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat their fleſh, and beaſts of prey deſtroy the remaining bones, ſo as they will not be gathered to their forefathers—becauſe their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would loſe their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by adviſing them to a ſtrict obſervance of their old rites and cuſtoms, and then every thing ſhall go well with them. He ſoon orders ſome of the religious attendants to take a ſufficient quantity of the ſuppoſed holy fire, and lay it down on the outſide of the holy ground, for all the houſes of the various aſſociated towns, which ſometimes lie ſeveral miles apart. The women, hating ſharp and grave leſſons, ſpeedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the proſpect of future joy and peace.

While the women are running about, and getting ready to dreſs the ſanctified new-fruits on the ſacred fire, the *Archi-magus* ſends a religious attendant to pull ſome cuſſeena, or *yopon*, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot, about half full; it has ſuch a ſtrong body, as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their conſecrated veſſels, which are kept only for that uſe: of this they drink now and then, till the end of the feſtival, and on every other religious occaſion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in ſanctifying themſelves, often drink this, and other bitter decoctions, to ſuch exceſs, as to purge themſelves very ſeverely—when they drink it, they always invoke YO HE WAH.

If any of the warriors are confined at home by ſickneſs, or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the old conſecrated conch-ſhells-full of their ſanctifying bitter cuſſeena, by their magi. The traders hear them often diſpute for it, as their proper due, by ancient cuſtom: and they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, eſpecially that part which they imagine moſt affects their preſent welfare; the aged are ſent to inſtruct the young ones in theſe particulars. The above allowance, ſeems to be derived from the divine precept of mercy, in allowing a ſecond paſſover in favour of thoſe who could not go, or were not admitted to the firſt; and the latter cuſtom, to be in obedience to the divine law, which their ſuppoſed progenitors were to write on the poſts of the doors, to wear as frontlets before their eyes, and teach to their children.

Though the Indians do not uſe ſalt in their firſt-fruit-oblation till the fourth day; it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot obſerve the annual expiation of ſins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new ſanctified fruits; and ſome years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a ſufficient quantity of bears for the uſe of this religious ſolemnity, and their other ſacred rites for the approaching year; for at ſuch ſeaſons they are hard to be found, and quite lean. The traders commonly ſupply themſelves with plenty of this oil from winter to winter; but the Indians are ſo prepoſſeſſed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accurſed, that they deem their oil as polluting on thoſe ſacred occaſions, as Joſephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire if he ſuſpects any unſanctified food has been dreſſed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk, and ſteel, when they viſit us, for fear of polluting themſelves by lighting their pipes at our ſuppoſed *Loak ookproofe*, "accurſed fire," and ſpoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathamatized, and expelled from the temple, with the women, who are ſuſpected of gratifying their vicious taſte. During the eight days feſtival, they are forbidden even to touch the ſkin of a female child: if they are detected, either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on any of their own wives, in that ſacred interval, they are ſtripped naked, and the offender is univerſally deemed ſo atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miſerable life. Some have ſhot themſelves dead, rather than ſtand the ſhame, and the long year's continual reproaches caſt upon them, for every miſchance that befalls any of their people, or the enſuing harveſt,—a neceſſary effect of the divine anger, they ſay, for ſuch a crying ſin of pollution. An inſtance of this kind I heard happened ſome years ago in *Talâſe*, a town of the Muſkohge, ſeven miles above the Alebâma garriſon.

When we conſider how ſparingly they eat in their uſual way of living, it is ſurprizing to ſee what a vaſt quantity of food they conſume on their feſtival days. It would equally ſurprize a ſtranger to ſee how exceedingly they vary their diſhes, their dainties conſiſting only of dried fleſh, fiſh, oil, corn, beans, peaſe, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time, the warriors are dreſt in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down: they carry feathers of the ſame colour, either in their hands, or faſtened to white ſcraped canes, as emblems of purity, and ſcepters of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and ſinging their religious praiſes around the ſacred arbour, in which ſtands the holy fire. Their muſic conſiſts of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-ſkins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noiſy muſicians beats with a ſtick, accompanying the noiſe with their voices; at the ſame time, the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick ſliding ſteps, and variegated poſtures of body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabaſhes ſhaked by ſome of their religious heroes, each of them ſinging their old religious ſongs, and ſtriking notes *in tympano et choro.* Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and inſtrumental muſic of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occaſions, which they muſt have derived from early antiquity. Toward the concluſion of the great feſtival, they paint and dreſs themſelves anew, and give themſelves the moſt terrible appearance they poſſibly can. They take up their war-inſtruments, and fight a mock-battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they diſobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of ſuch religious exerciſe, and deem it productive of temporal good, all ſoon appear in their fineſt apparel, as before ſuggeſted, decorated with ſilver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, ſeveral rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of ſilver on their wriſts, their heads ſhining with oil, and torrepine-ſhells containing pebbles, faſtened to deer-ſkins, tied to the outſide of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a conſiderable while around the ſacred fire, and then they ſeparate.

At the concluſion of this long and ſolemn feſtival, the *Archi-magus* orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their ſacred annual ſolemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old ſtraight beloved ſpeech; they muſt therefore paint themſelves, and come along with him according to ancient

cuſtom.

cuſtom. As they know the ſtated time, the joyful ſound preſently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themſelves white. By their religious emulation, they ſoon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outſide of the holy ground, with all who had ſanctified themſelves within it, who are likewiſe painted, ſome with ſtreaks, and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recuſants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly ſolemn proceſſion, to purify themſelves in running water. The *Archi-magus* heads the holy train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their ſeniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the ſame orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Thoſe, who are known to have eaten of the unſanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the proceſſion moves along, ſinging ALELUIAH to YO HE WAH, &c. till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the *Archi-magus* jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the ſame order they obſerved from the temple. Having purified themſelves, or waſhed away their ſins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themſelves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their paſt vicious conduct: and they return in the ſame religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, ſinging and dancing around the altar, they thus finiſh their annual great feſtival, and depart in joy and peace.

Ancient writers inform us, that while the Scythians or Tartars were heathens, their prieſts in the time of their ſacrifices, took ſome blood, and mixing it with milk, horſe-dung, and earth, got on a tree, and having exhorted the people, they ſprinkled them with it, in order to purify them, and defend them from every kind of evil: the heathens alſo excluded ſome from religious communion. The Egyptians excommunicated thoſe who ate of animals that bore wool, or cut the throat of a goat[*]. And in ancient times, they, and the Phœnicians, Greeks, &c. adored the ſerpent, and expelled thoſe who killed it. The Eaſt-Indians likewiſe, drive thoſe from the ſuppoſed benefit of their altars, who eat of a cow, and drink wine, or that eat with foreigners, or an inferior caſt. Though the heathen world offered ſacrifice, had ablutions, and ſeveral other ſorts of purifications, and frequently by fire; yet at the beſt, their religious obſervances differed widely from the divine inſtitutions; whereas the American Aborigines obſerve ſtrict purity, in the moſt eſſential parts of the divine law. The former concealed their various worſhip from the light of the ſun; ſome ſeeking thick groves, others deſcending into the deep valleys, others crawling to get into caverns, and under their favourite rocks. But we find the latter, in their ſtate-houſes and temples, following the Jeruſalem copy in a ſurprizing manner. Thoſe of them who yet retain a ſuppoſed moſt holy place, contrary to the uſage of the old heathen world, have it ſtanding at the weſt end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint thoſe of the meaneſt rank, to ſit on the ſeats of the eaſtern ſquare, ſo that their backs are to the eaſt, and faces to the weſt *. The red ſquare looks north; and the ſecond men's cabbin, as the traders term the other ſquare, of courſe looks ſouth, which is a ſtrong imitation of Solomon's temple, that was modelled according to the divine plan of the Iſraelitiſh camp in the wilderneſs. We find them alſo ſanctifying themſelves, according to the emblematical laws of purity, offering their annual ſacrifice in the centre of their quadrangular temples, under the meridian light of the ſun. Their magi are devoted to, and bear the name of the great holy One; their ſuppoſed prophets likewiſe that of the divine fire; and each of them bear the emblems of purity and holineſs—while in their religious duties, they ſing ALELUIAH, YO HE WAH, &c. both day and night. Thus different are the various gods,

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[*] ———Lanatis animalibus abſtinet omnis
Menſa; nefas illic fœtum jugulare capellæ.

JUVENAL, Sat. xv.

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* The Hebrews had two preſidents in the great ſynhedrion. The firſt was called *Naſhe Yo*, " a prince of God." They elected him on account of his wiſdom: The ſecond was called *Roſh Ha-Yoſhibbah*, " the father of the aſſembly:" he was chief in the great council. And *Ab beth din*, or " the father of the conſiſtory," ſat at his right hand, as the chief of the ſeventy-two, of which the great ſynhedrion conſiſted, the reſt ſitting according to their merit, in a gradual declenſion from the prince, to the end of the ſemicircle. The like order is obſerved by the Indians,—and *Jer.* ii. 27, God commanded the Iſraelites, that they ſhould not turn their backs to him, but their faces toward the propitiatory, when they worſhipped him. I remember, in Kooſah, the uppermoſt weſtern town of the Muſkohge, which was a place of refuge, their ſuppoſed holieſt conſiſted of a neat houſe, in the centre of the weſtern ſquare, and the door of it was in the ſouth gable-end cloſe to the white cabbin, each on a direct line, north and ſouth.

temples, prophets, and prieſts of all the idolatrous nations of antiquity, from the ſavage Americans; which ſhews with convincing clearneſs, eſpecially by recollecting the former arguments, that the American Aborigines were never idolaters, nor violated the ſecond commandment in worſhipping the incomprehenſible, omnipreſent, divine eſſence, after the manner deſcribed by the popiſh hiſtorians of Peru and Mexico; but that the greateſt part of their civil and religious ſyſtem, is a ſtrong old picture of the Iſraelitiſh, much leſs defaced than might be reaſonably expected from the circumſtances of time and place.

Every ſpring ſeaſon, one town or more of the Miſſiſippi Floridians, keep a great ſolemn feaſt of love, to renew their old friendſhip. They call this annual feaſt, *Hottuk Aimpa*, *Heettla*, *Tanáa*, " the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together"—The ſhort name of their yearly feaſt of love, is *Hottuk Impanáa*, " eating by a ſtrong religious, or ſocial principle;" *Impanáa* ſignifies ſeveral threads or ſtrands twiſted, or warped together. *Hiſſoobiſtarákſhe*, and *Yelphòba Panáa*, is " a twiſted horſe-rope," and " warped garter *." This is alſo contrary to the uſage of the old heathen world, whoſe feſtivals were in honour to their chief idols, and very often accompanied with deteſtable lewdneſs and debauchery.

They aſſemble three nights previous to their annual feaſt of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate ſpace, the young men and women dance in circles from the evening till morning. The men maſque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different ſhapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a ſufficient quantity of veniſon, for the feaſt of renewing their love, and confirming their friendſhip with each other. The women dreſs it, and bring the beſt they have along with it; which a few ſprings paſt, was only a variety of Eſau's ſmall red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a buſh tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almoſt every day, and play for veniſon and cakes, the men againſt the women; which the old people ſay they have obſerved for time out of mind.

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* The name of a horſe-rope is derived from *Tarákſhe* " to tie," and *Hìſſooba* " an elk, or horſe that carries a burthen;" which ſuggeſts that they formerly ſaw elks carry burthens, though perhaps not in the northern provinces.

Before I conclude this argument, I muſt here obſerve, that when the Indians meet at night to gladden and unite their hearts before Yohewah, they ſing *Yohèwà-ſhoo Yohèwà-ſhoo*, *Yohewàhſhee Yohewàſhce*, and *Yohewàhſhai Yohewàhſhai*, with much energy. The firſt word is nearly in Hebrew characters, יהושע, the name of Joſhua, or ſaviour, *Numb.* xiii. 8. That ע is properly expreſſed by our double vowel *oo*, let it be obſerved, that as בעל is "a ruler," or "commanding"—ſo the Indians ſay *Boole Hakſe* "ſtrike a "perſon, that is criminal." In like manner, they ſing *Meſhi Yo*, *Meſhi Yo*, *Meſhi He*, *Meſhi He*, *Meſhi Wah Meſhi Wah*; likewiſe, *Meſhi Hah Yo*, &c.; and *Meſhi Wàh Háh Meſhi Wàh Hé*, tranſpoſing and accenting each ſyllable differently, ſo as to make them appear different words. But they commonly make thoſe words end with one ſyllable of the divine name, *Yo He Wah*. If we connect this with the former part of the ſubject, and conſider they are commonly anointed all over, in the time of their religious ſongs and circuiting dances, the words ſeem to glance at the Hebrew original, and perhaps they are ſometimes ſynonymous; for שמו ſignifies oil; the perſon anointed משח, *Meſſiah*, and he who anointed משיחו, which with the Indians is *Meſhibáh Yo*.

That theſe red ſavages formerly underſtood the radical meaning, and emblematical deſign, of the important words they uſe in their religious dances and ſacred hymns, is pretty obvious, if we conſider the reverence they pay to the myſterious divine name YO He Wah, in pauſing during a long breath on each of the two firſt ſyllables; their defining good by joining *Wah* to the end of a word, which otherwiſe expreſſes moral evil, as before noticed; and again by making the ſame word a negative of good, by ſeparating the firſt ſyllable of that divine name into two ſyllables, and adding *U* as a ſuperlative termination, *Y-O-U*: all their ſacred ſongs ſeem likewiſe to illuſtrate it very clearly; *Halelu-Yah*, *Shilu Wah*, *Meſhi Wah*, *Meſhiba Yo*, &c. The words which they repeat in their divine hymns, while dancing in three circles around their ſuppoſed holy fire, are deemed ſo ſacred, that they have not been known ever to mention them at any other time: and as they are a moſt erect people, their bowing poſture during the time of thoſe religious acclamations and invocations, helps to confirm their Hebrew origin.

ARGUMENT IX.

The Hebrews offered DAILY SACRIFICE, which the prophet Daniel calls *Tamid*, "the daily." It was an offering of a lamb every morning and evening, at the charges of the common treaſury of the temple, and except the ſkin and intrails, it was burnt to aſhes—upon which account they called it, *Oolah Kalile*, to aſcend and conſume. The Indians have a ſimilar religious ſervice. The Indian women always throw a ſmall piece of the fatteſt of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleaſing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe ſuch a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting thoſe that are evil: and they are ſo far from making this fat-offering through pride or hypocriſy, that they perform it when they think they are not ſeen by thoſe of contrary principles, who might ridicule them without teaching them better.

Inſtead of blaming their religious conduct, as ſome have done, I adviſed them to perſiſt in their religious duty to *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, becauſe he never failed to be kind to thoſe who firmly ſhaked hands with the old beloved ſpeech, particularly the moral precepts, and after they died, he would bring them to their beloved land; and took occaſion to ſhew them the innumerable advantages their reputed forefathers were bleſt with, while they obeyed the divine law.

The white people, (I had almoſt ſaid chriſtians) who have become Indian proſelytes of juſtice, by living according to the Indian religious ſyſtem, aſſure us, that the Indian men obſerve the daily ſacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed veniſon; but that otherwiſe they decline it. The difficulty of getting ſalt for religious uſes from the ſea-ſhore, and likewiſe its irritating quality when eaten by thoſe who have green wounds, might in time occaſion them to diſcontinue that part of the ſacrifice.

They make ſalt for domeſtic uſe, out of a ſaltiſh kind of graſs, which grows on rocks, by burning it to aſhes, making ſtrong lye of it, and boiling it in earthen pots to a proper conſiſtence. They do not offer any fruits of the field, except at the firſt-fruit-offering: ſo that their neglect of ſacrifice, at certain times, ſeems not to be the effect of an ignorant or vicious, but of their intelligent and virtuous diſpoſition, and to be a ſtrong circumſtantial evidence of their Iſraelitiſh extraction.

Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, and a great multitude of inferior good ſpirits; yet they are firmly perſuaded that the divine omnipreſent Spirit of fire and light reſides on earth, in their annual ſacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers. The former notion of the Deity, is agreeable to thoſe natural images, with which the divine penmen, through all the prophetic writings, have drawn YOHEWAH ELOHIM. When God was pleaſed with Aaron's prieſthood and offerings, the holy fire deſcended and conſumed the burnt-offering on the altar, &c.

By the divine records of the Hebrews, this was the emblematical token of the divine preſence; and the ſmoke of the victim aſcending toward heaven, is repreſented as a ſweet ſavour to God. The people who have lived ſo long apart from the reſt of mankind, are not to be wondered at, if they have forgotten the end and meaning of the ſacrifice; and are rather to be pitied for ſeeming to believe, like the ignorant part of the Iſraelites, that the virtue is either in the form of offering the ſacrifice, or in the divinity they imagine to reſide on earth in the ſacred annual fire; likewiſe, for ſeeming to have forgotten that the virtue was in the thing typified.

In the year 1748, when I was at the Kooſàh on my way to the Chikkaſah country, I had a converſation on this ſubject, with ſeveral of the more intelligent of the Muſkohge traders. One of them told me, that juſt before, while he and ſeveral others were drinking ſpirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to exceſs, reeled into the fire, and burned himſelf very much. He roared, foamed, and ſpoke the worſt things againſt God, that their language could expreſs. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him ſo barbarouſly in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always ſacrificed to him the firſt young buck he killed in the new year; as in a conſtant manner he offered him when at home, ſome of the fatteſt of the meat, even when he was at ſhort allowance, on purpoſe that he might ſhine upon him as a kind God.—And he added, " now you have proved as an evil ſpirit, by biting me ſo ſeverely who was your conſtant devotee, and are a kind God to thoſe accurſed nothings, who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I aſſure you, I ſhall renounce you from this time forward, and inſtead of making you look merry with fat meat, you ſhall appear ſad with water, for ſpoiling the old beloved ſpeech. I am a beloved warrior, and conſequently I ſcorn to lie; you ſhall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, for I ſhall piſs upon you." From that time, his brethren ſaid, God forſook that terreſtrial reſidence, and the warrior became godleſs. This information exactly agrees with many ſuch inſtances of Indian impiety, that happened within my own obſervation—and ſhews the bad conſequences of that evil habit of uſing ſpirituous liquors intemperately, which they have been taught by the Europeans.

The Indians have among them the reſemblance of the Jewiſh SIN-OFFERING, and TRESPASS-OFFERING, for they commonly pull their new-killed veniſon (before they dreſs it) ſeveral times through the ſmoke and flame of the fire, both by the way of a ſacrifice, and to conſume the blood, life, or animal ſpirits of the beaſt, which with them would be a moſt horrid abomination to eat. And they ſacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the firſt buck they kill, both in their ſummer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcaſs. This they offer up, either as a thankſgiving for the recovery of health, and for their former ſucceſs in hunting; or that the divine care and goodneſs may be ſtill continued to them.

When the Hebrews doubted whether they had ſinned againſt any of the divine precepts, they were obliged by the law to bring to the prieſt a ram of their flock, to be ſacrificed, which they called *Aſcham*. When the prieſt offered this, the perſon was forgiven. Their ſacrifices and offerings were called *Shilomim*, as they typified *Shilo-Berith*, " the purifying root," who was to procure them peace, reſt, and plenty. The Indian imitates the Iſraelite in his religious offerings, according to the circumſtances of things; the Hebrew laid his hands on the head of the clean and tame victim, to load it with his ſins, when it was to be killed. The Indian religiouſly chuſes that animal which in America comes neareſt to the divine law of ſacrifice, according to what God has enabled him; he ſhoots down a buck, and ſacrifices either the whole carcaſs, or ſome choice part of it, upon a fire of green wood to burn away, and aſcend to *Yohewah.* Then he purifies himſelf in water, and believes himſelf ſecure from temporal evils. Formerly, every hunter obſerved the very ſame religious œconomy; but now it is practiſed only by thoſe who are the moſt retentive of their old religious myſteries.

The Muſkohge Indians ſacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and ſprinkle it over the domeſtic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil ſpirits, according to their mythology; which ſeems to proceed from a traditional knowledge, though corruption of the Hebrew law of ſprinkling and of blood.

The Indians obſerve another religious cuſtom of the Hebrews, in making a Peace-Offering, or ſacrifice of gratitude, if the Deity in the ſuppoſed holy ark is propitious to their campaign againſt the enemy, and brings them all ſafe home. If they have loſt any in war, they always decline it, becauſe they imagine by ſome neglect of duty, they are impure: then they only mourn their vicious conduct which defiled the ark, and thereby occaſioned the loſs. Like the Iſraelites, they believe their ſins are the true cauſe of all their evils, and that the divinity in their ark, will always bleſs the more religious party with the beſt ſucceſs. This is their invariable ſentiment, and is the ſole reaſon of their mortifying themſelves in ſo ſevere a manner while they are out at war, living very ſcantily, even in a buffalo-range, under a ſtrict rule, leſt by luxury their hearts ſhould grow evil, and give them occaſion to mourn.

The common ſort of Indians, in theſe corrupt times, only ſacrifice a ſmall piece of unſalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in the divine preſence, ſinging *Yo Yo,* &c. for their ſucceſs and ſafety: but, according to the religious cuſtom of the Hebrews, who offered ſacrifices of thankſgiving for every notable favour that Elohim had conferred either on individuals, or the body,—both the war-leader and his religious aſſiſtant go into the woods as ſoon as they are purified, and there ſacrifice the firſt deer they kill; yet, as hath been obſerved, they always celebrate the annual expiation of ſins in their religious temples.

The red Hebrews imagine their temples to have ſuch a typical holineſs, more than any other place, that if they offered up the annual ſacrifice elſewhere, it would not atone for the people, but rather bring down the anger of *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, and utterly ſpoil the power of their holy places and holy things. They who ſacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occaſions now mentioned; unleſs incited by a dream, which they eſteem a monitory leſſon of the Deity, according to a ſimilar opinion of the Hebrews. To conclude this argument, it is well known, that the heathens offered the moſt abominable and impure ſacrifices to a multiplicity of idol gods; ſome on favourite high places, others in thick groves, yea, offerings of their own children were made! and they likewiſe proſtituted their young women in honour of their deities. The former is ſo atrocious in the eyes of the American Hebrews, that they reckon there needs no human law to prevent ſo unnatural a crime; the vileſt reptiles being endued with an intenſe love to their young ones: and as to the latter, if even a great war-leader is known to cohabit with his own wife, while ſanctifying himſelf according to their mode on any religious occaſion, he is deemed unclean for the ſpace of three days and nights; or ſhould he during the annual atonement of ſins, it is deemed ſo dangerous a pollution, as to demand a ſtrict excluſion from the reſt of the ſanctified head-men and warriors, till the general atonement has been made at the temple, to appeaſe the offended Deity: beſides, as a ſhameful badge of his impiety, his clothes are ſtripped off. Thus different are the various modes and ſubjects of the heatheniſh worſhip and offerings, from thoſe of the ſavage Americans. The ſurprizing purity the latter ſtill obſerve in their religious ceremonies, under the circumſtances of time and place, points ſtrongly at their origin.

ARGUMENT X.

The Hebrews had various Ablutions and Anointings, according to the Moſaic ritual—and all the Indian nations conſtantly obſerve ſimilar cuſtoms from religious motives. Their frequent bathing, or dipping themſelves and their children in rivers, even in the ſevereſt weather, ſeems to be as truly Jewiſh, as the other rites and ceremonies which have been mentioned. Frequent waſhing of the body was highly neceſſary to the health of the Hebrews in their warm climate, and populous ſtate—but it is uſeleſs in this point of view to the red Americans, as their towns are widely diſtant from each other, thin peopled, and ſituated in cold regions. However, they practiſe it as a religious duty, unleſs in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they obſerve the law of mercy, rather than that of ſacrifice. In the coldeſt weather, and when the ground is covered with ſnow, againſt their bodily eaſe and pleaſure, men and children turn out of their warm houſes or ſtoves, reeking with ſweat, ſinging their uſual ſacred notes, *Yo Yo*, &c. at the dawn of day, adoring YO He Wah, at the gladſome ſight of the morn; and thus they ſkip along, echoing praiſes, till they get to the river, when they inſtantaneouſly plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having ſo well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this hath been deemed ſo heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with ſnake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the ſtiffened ſkin. This is called dry-ſcratching; for their method of bleeding conſiſts in ſcratching the legs and arms with goir-fiſh teeth, when the ſkin has been firſt well looſened by warm water. The criminals, through a falſe imitation of true martial virtue, ſcorn to move themſelves in the leaſt out of their erect poſture, be the pain ever ſo intolerable; if they did, they would be laughed at, even by their own relations—firſt, for being vicious; and next, for being timorous. This will help to leſſen our ſurprize at the uncommon patience and conſtancy with which they are endued, beyond the reſt of mankind, in ſuffering long-continued torture; eſpecially as it is one of the firſt, and ſtrongeſt impreſſions they take; and they have conſtant leſſons and examples of fortitude, exhibited before their eyes.

The Hebrews had convenient ſeparate places for their women to bathe in, and purify themſelves as occaſion required: and at the temple (and the ſynagogues, after the captivity) they worſhipped apart from the men, leſt they ſhould attract one another's attention from the divine worſhip: and it was cuſtomary for the women to go veiled, for fear of being ſeen, when they walked the ſtreets. No doubt but jealouſy had as great a ſhare in introducing this cuſtom as modeſty, eſpecially while poligamy was ſuffered in the rich. But the ſcantineſs of the Jewiſh American's circumſtances, has obliged them to purify themſelves in the open rivers, where modeſty forbad them to expoſe their women; who by this means, are now leſs religious than the men in that duty, for they only purify themſelves as their diſcretion directs them. In imitation of the Hebrew women being kept apart from the men at their worſhip, the Indians intirely exclude their females from their temples by ancient cuſtom, except ſix old beloved women, who are admitted to ſing, dance, and rejoice, in the time of their annual expiation of ſins, and then retire. In their town-houſes alſo they ſeparate them from the warriors, placing them on the ground at each ſide of the entrance of the door within, as if they were only caſual ſpectators.

It may be objected, that the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans worſhipped their Gods, at the dawn of day: and the Perſian Magi, with all the other worſhippers of fire, paid their religious devoirs to the riſing ſun, but, as the Indians are plainly not idolaters, or poly-theiſts; as they ſing to, and invoke YAH, and YO HE WAH, the divine eſſence, as they run along at the dawn of day to purify themſelves by ablution; it ſeems ſufficiently clear, they are not deſcended from either of the laſt mentioned ſtates, but that their origin is from the Iſraelites. This law of purity, bathing in water, was eſſential to the Jews—and the Indians to this day would exclude the men from religious communion who neglected to obſerve it.

It was cuſtomary with the Jews alſo after bathing to anoint themſelves with oil. All the orientaliſts had a kind of ſacred reſpect to OIL; particularly the Jews. With them, the ſame word which ſignified "noon-day" or ſplendor, צהר, denoted alſo "lucid oil."—And the olive-tree is derived from the verb, to ſhine—Becauſe, the fruit thereof tended to give their faces a favourite gliſtering colour. 'Tis well known that oil was applied by the Jews to the moſt ſacred, as well as common uſes. Their kings, prophets and prieſts, at their inauguration and conſecration were anointed with oil—and the promiſed Saviour was himſelf deſcribed, by the epithet "anointed," and is ſaid Pſal. xlv. 7. to be "anointed with the oil of gladneſs above his fellows." We ſhall on this point, diſcover no ſmall reſemblance and conformity in the American Indians.

The Indian prieſts and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkaſah ſome time ago ſet apart ſome of their old men of the religious order. They firſt obliged them to ſweat themſelves for the ſpace of three days and nights, in a ſmall green hut, made on purpoſe, at a conſiderable diſtance from any dwelling; through a ſcrupulous fear of contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a ſtrong deſire of ſecreting their religious myſteries. During that interval, they were allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-ſnake-root, to cleanſe their bodies, and prepare them to ſerve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine eſſence, whom during this preparation they conſtantly invoke by his eſſential name, as before deſcribed. After which, their prieſtly garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head.—If they could procure olive, or palm oil, inſtead of bear's oil, doubtleſs they would prefer and uſe it in their ſacred ceremonies; eſpecially, as they are often deſtitute of their favourite bear's oil for domeſtic uſes.

The Jewiſh women were ſo exceedingly addicted to anoint their faces and bodies, that they often preferred oil to the neceſſaries of life; the widow who addreſſed herſelf to Eliſha, though ſhe was in the moſt pinching ſtraits, and wanted every thing elſe, yet had a pot of oil to anoint herſelf. This cuſtom of anointing became univerſal, among the eaſtern nations. They were not ſatisfied with perfuming themſelves with ſweet oils and fine eſſences; but anointed birds—as in the ninth ode of Anacreon;

Tot unde nunc odores?
Huc advolans per auras,
Spiraſque, depluiſque;

The poet introduces two doves converſing together; one of which carried a letter to Bathyllus, the anointed beau; and the other wiſhes her much joy, for her perfumed wings that diffuſed ſuch an agreeable ſmell around. And the ſame poet orders the painter to draw this Samian beau, with his hair wet with eſſence, to give him a fine appearance. Nitidas comas ejus facilto. Ode 29. Virgil deſcribes Turnus, juſt after the ſame manner,

> Vibratos calido ferro, myrrhaque madentes.
>
> ÆNEID, l. 12.

Homer tells us, that Telemachus and Philiſtratus anointed their whole bodies with eſſences, after they had viſited the palace of Menelaus, and before they ſat down at table. Odyſſ. l. 4.

The Jews reckoned it a ſingular piece of diſreſpect to their gueſt, if they offered him no oil. When any of them paid a friendly viſit, they had eſſences preſented to anoint their heads; to which cuſtom of civility the Saviour alludes in his reproof of the parſimonious Phariſee, at whoſe houſe he dined. Luke vii. 46.

All the Indian Americans, eſpecially the female ſex, reckon their bear's oil or greaſe, very valuable, and uſe it after the ſame manner as the Aſiatics did their fine eſſences and ſweet perfumes; the young warriors and women are uneaſy, unleſs their hair is always ſhining with it; which is probably the reaſon that none of their heads are bald. But enough is ſaid on this head, to ſhew that they ſeem to have derived this cuſtom from the eaſt.

ARGUMENT XI.

The Indians have cuſtoms conſonant to the Moſaic LAWS OF UNCLEANNESS. They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build ſmall huts, at as conſiderable a diſtance from their dwelling-houſes, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the ſpace of that period, they are obliged to ſtay at the riſque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they muſt anſwer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy ſometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithſtanding they reckon it conveys a moſt horrid and dangerous pollution to thoſe who touch, or go near them, or walk any where within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby ſpoiling the ſuppoſed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can ſo cleanſe themſelves with the conſecrated herbs, roots, &c. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to ſecure them in this point from bodily danger, becauſe it was done againſt their enemies.

The non-obſervance of this ſeparation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they eſteem the moſt capital crimes. When the time of the women's ſeparation is ended, they always purify themſelves in deep running water, return home, dreſs, and anoint themſelves. They aſcribe theſe monthly periods, to the female ſtructure, not to the anger of *Iſhtohoollo Aba.*

Correſpondent to the Moſaic law of women's purification after *travel*, the Indian women abſent themſelves from their huſbands and all public company, for a conſiderable time.—The *Muſkohge* women are ſeparate for three moons, excluſive of that moon in which they are delivered. By the Jewiſh law, women after a male-birth were forbidden to enter the temple; and even, the very touch of ſacred things, forty days.—And after a female, the time of ſeparation was doubled.

Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be cenſured, and ſuffer for any ſudden ſickneſs, or death that might happen among the people, as the neceſſary effect of the divine anger for their polluting ſin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Iſraelites, it is the fear of temporal evils, and the proſpect of temporal good, that makes them ſo tenacious and obſervant of their laws. At the ſtated period, the Indian womens impurity is finiſhed by ablution, and they are again admitted to ſocial and holy privileges.

By the Levitical law, the people who had *running iſſues*, or *ſores*, were deemed unclean, and ſtrictly ordered apart from the reſt, for fear of polluting them; for every thing they touched became unclean. The Indians, in as ſtrict a manner, obſerve the very ſame law; they follow the ancient

Iſraelitiſh copy ſo cloſe, as to build a ſmall hut at a conſiderable diſtance from the houſes of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there, (as the Jewiſh lepers formerly were, without the walls of the city) for the ſpace of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the caſe of their women after travel: and they keep them ſtrictly ſeparate, leſt the impurity of the one ſhould prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine phyſician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking YO He Wah to bleſs the means they apply on the ſad occaſion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abſtemious life, prohibiting them women and ſalt in particular, during the time of the cure, or ſanctifying the reputed ſinners. Like the Iſraelites, they firmly believe that ſafety, or wounds, &c. immediately proceed from the pleaſed, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in obſerving, or violating the divine law.

In this long ſpace of purification, each patient is allowed only a ſuperannuated woman to attend him, who is paſt the temptations of ſinning with men, leſt the introduction of a young one ſhould either ſeduce him to folly; or ſhe having committed it with others—or by not obſerving her appointed time of living apart from the reſt, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more ſurpriſing in their phyſical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the phyſician is ſo religiouſly cautious of not admitting polluted perſons to viſit any of his patients, leſt the defilement ſhould retard the cure, or ſpoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their prieſts, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to aſſert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the ſpace of the laſt natural day. This law of purity was peculiar to the Hebrews, to deem thoſe unclean who cohabited with their wives, till they purified themſelves in clean water. Now as the heathen world obſerved no ſuch law, it ſeems that the primitive Americans derived this religious cuſtom alſo from divine precept; and that theſe ceremonial rites were originally copied from the Moſaic inſtitution.

The Iſraelites became unclean only by *touching their dead*, for the ſpace of ſeven days; and the high-prieſt was prohibited to come near the dead. 'Tis much the ſame with the Indians to this day. To prevent pollution, when the ſick perſon is paſt hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceaſes, they haſten the remaining funeral preparations, and ſoon bury the corpſe. One of a different family will never, or very rarely pollute himſelf for a ſtranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his ſafety: the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, muſt live apart from the clean for ſeveral days, and be cleanſed by ſome of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-ſnake-root for their purification, as formerly deſcribed: then they purify themſelves by ablution. After three days, the funeral aſſiſtants may convene at the town-houſe, and follow their uſual diverſions. But the relations live recluſe a long time, mourning the dead. *

The Cheerake, notwithſtanding they have corrupted moſt of their primitive cuſtoms, obſerve this law of purity in ſo ſtrict a manner, as not to touch the corpſe of their neareſt relation though in the woods. The fear of pollution (not the want of natural affection, as the unſkilful obſerve) keeps them alſo from burying their dead, in our reputed unſanctified ground, if any die as they are going to Charles-town, and returning home; becauſe they are diſtant from their own holy places and holy things, where only they could peform the religious obſequies of their dead, and purify themſelves according to law. An incident of this kind happened ſeveral years ſince, a little below *Ninety-ſix*, as well as at the Conggarees, in South-Carolina:—at the former place, the corpſe by our humanity was interred; but at the latter, even the twin-born brother of an Indian chriſtian lady well known by the name of the *Dark-lanthorn*, left her dead and unburied.

The converſion of this *rara avis* was in the following extraordinary manner.—There was a gentleman who married her according to the manner of the Cheerake; but obſerving that marriages were commonly of a ſhort

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* One of the Cheerake traders, who now reſides in the Choktah country, aſſures me, that a little before the commencement of the late war with the Cheerake, when the *Buck*, a native of Nuquoſe-town, died, none of the warriors would help to bury him, becauſe of the dangerous pollution, they imagined they ſhould neceſſarily contract from ſuch a white corpſe; as he was begotten by a white man and a half-breed Cheerake woman—and as the women are only allowed to mourn for the death of a warrior, they could not aſſiſt in this friendly duty. By much ſolicitation, the gentleman (my author) obtained the help of an old friendly half-bred-warrior. They interred the corpſe; but the ſavage became unclean, and was ſeparate from every kind of communion with the reſt, for the ſpace of three days.

duration,

duration in that wanton female government, he flattered himſelf of ingroſſing her affections, could he be ſo happy as to get her ſanctified by one of our own beloved men with a large quantity of holy water in baptiſm—and be taught the conjugal duty, by virtue of her new chriſtian name, when they were married a-new. As ſhe was no ſtranger in the Engliſh ſettlements, he ſoon perſuaded her to go down to the Conggarees, to get the beloved ſpeech, and many fine things beſide. As the prieſt was one of thoſe ſons of wiſdom, the church ſent us in her maternal benevolence, both to keep and draw us from eſſential errors, he readily knew the value of a convert, and graſping at the opportunity, he changed her from a wild ſavage to a believing chriſtian in a trice.

He aſked her a few articles of her creed, which were ſoon anſwered by the bridegroom, as interpreter, from ſome words ſhe ſpoke on a trifling queſtion he aſked her. When the prieſt propoſed to her a religious queſtion, the bridegroom, by reaſon of their low ideas, and the idiom of their dialects, was obliged to mention ſome of the virtues, and ſay he recommended to her a very ſtrict chaſtity in the married ſtate. "Very well, ſaid ſhe, that's a good ſpeech, and fit for every woman alike, unleſs ſhe is very old—But what ſays he now?" The interpreter, after a ſhort pauſe, replied, that he was urging her to uſe a proper care in domeſtic life. "You evil ſpirit, ſaid ſhe, when was I waſteful, or careleſs at home?" He replied, "never": "Well then, ſaid ſhe, tell him his ſpeech is troubleſome and light.—But, firſt, where are thoſe fine things you promiſed me?" He bid her be patient a little, and ſhe ſhould have plenty of every thing ſhe liked beſt; at this ſhe ſmiled. Now the religious man was fully confirmed in the hope of her converſion; however, he aſked if ſhe underſtood, and believed that needful article, the doctrine of the trinity. The bridegroom ſwore heartily, that if he brought out all the other articles of his old book, ſhe both knew and believed them, for ſhe was a ſenſible young woman.

The bridegroom had a very difficult part to act, both to pleaſe the humour of his Venus, and to ſatisfy the inquiſitive temper of our religious ſon of Apollo; he behaved pretty well however, till he was deſired to aſk her belief of the uni-trinity, and tri-unity of the deity; which the beloved man endeavoured to explain. On this, ſhe ſmartly aſked him the ſubject of their long and crooked-like diſcourſe. But, as his patience was now exhauſted,

hauſted, inſtead of anſwering her queſtion, he ſaid with a loud voice, that he believed the religious man had picked out all the crabbed parts of his old book, only to puzzle and ſtagger her young chriſtian faith; otherwiſe how could he deſire him to perſuade ſuch a ſharp-diſcerning young woman, that one was three, and three, one? Beſides, that if his book had any ſuch queſtion, it belonged only to the deep parts of arithmetic, in which the very Indian beloved men were untaught. He aſſured the prieſt, that the Indians did not mind what religion the women were of, or whether they had any; and that the bride would take it very kindly, if he ſhortened his diſcourſe, as nothing can diſturb the Indian women ſo much as long lectures.

The *Dark-lanthorn*, (which was the name of the bride) became very uneaſy, both by the delay of time, and the various paſſions ſhe attentively read in the bridegroom's face and ſpeech, and ſhe aſked him ſharply the meaning of ſuch a long diſcourſe. He inſtantly cried out, that the whole affair was ſpoiled, unleſs it was brought to a ſpeedy concluſion: but the religious man inſiſted upon her belief of that article, before he could proceed any farther. But by way of comfort, he aſſured him it ſhould be the very laſt queſtion he would propoſe, till he put the holy water on her face, and read over the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom revived at this good news, immediately ſent the bowl around, with a cheerful countenance; which the bride obſerving, ſhe aſked him the reaſon of his ſudden joyful looks.—But, what with the length of the lecture, the cloſe application of the bowl, and an over-joy of ſoon obtaining his wiſhes, he propoſed the wrong queſtion; for inſtead of aſking her belief of the myſterious union of the tri-une deity, he only mentioned the manly faculties of nature. The bride ſmiled, and aſked if the beloved man borrowed that ſpeech from his beloved marriage-book? Or whether he was married, as he was ſo waggiſh, and knowing in thoſe affairs.—The prieſt imagining her cheerful looks proceeded from her ſwallowing his doctrine, immediately called for a bowl of water to initiate his new convert. As the bridegroom could not mediate with his uſual friendly offices in this affair, he perſuaded her to let the beloved man put ſome beloved water on her face, and it would be a ſure pledge of a laſting friendſhip between her and the Engliſh, and intitle her to every thing ſhe liked beſt. By the perſuaſive force of his promiſes, ſhe conſented: and had the conſtancy, though ſo ignorant a novitiate in our ſacred myſteries, to go through her catechiſm, and the long marriage ceremony,—although it was often interrupted by the bowl. This being over, ſhe proceeded to go to bed with her partner, while the beloved man ſung a pſalm at the door, concerning the fruitful vine. Her name he ſoon entered in capital letters, to grace the firſt title-page of his church book of converts; which he often ſhewed to his Engliſh ſheep, and with much ſatisfaction would inform them how, by the co-operation of the Deity, his earneſt endeavours changed an Indian *Dark-lanthorn* into a lamp of chriſtian light. However, afterward to his great grief, he was obliged on account of her adulteries, to eraſe her name from thence, and enter it anew in ſome of the crowded pages of female delinquents.

When an Iſraelite died in any houſe or tent, all who were in it, and the furniture belonging to it contracted a pollution, which continued for ſeven days. All likewiſe who touched the body of a dead perſon, or his grave, were impure for ſeven days. Similar notions prevail among the Indians. The Choktah are ſo exceedingly infatuated in favour of the infallible judgment of their pretended prophets, as to allow them without the leaſt regret, to diſlocate the necks of any of their ſick who are in a weak ſtate of body, to put them out of their pain, when they preſume to reveal the determined will of the Deity to ſhorten his days, which is aſſerted to be communicated in a dream; by the time that this theo-phyſical operation is performed on a patient, they have a ſcaffold prepared oppoſite to the door, whereon he is to lie till they remove the bones in the fourth moon after, to the remote bone-houſe of that family: they immediately carry out the corpſe, mourn over it, and place it in that dormitory, which is ſtrongly palliſadoed around, leſt the children ſhould become polluted even by paſſing under the dead. Formerly when the owner of a houſe died, they ſet fire to it, and to all the proviſions of every kind; or ſold the whole at a cheap rate to the trading people, without paying the leaſt regard to the ſcarcity of the times. Many of them ſtill obſerve the ſame rule, through a wild imitation of a ceremonial obſervance of the Iſraelites, in burning the bed whereon a dead perſon lay, becauſe of its impurity. This is no copy from the ancient heathens, but from the Hebrews.

ARGUMENT XII.

Like the Jews, the greateſt part of the ſouthern Indians *abſtain* from moſt things that are either in themſelves, or in the general apprehenſion of mankind, loathſome, or *unclean*: where we find a deviation from that general rule among any of them, it is a corruption—either owing to their intercourſe with Europeans, or having contracted an ill habit from neceſſity. They generally affix very vicious ideas to the eating of impure things; and all their prophets, prieſts, old warriors and war-chieftains, before they enter on their religious duties, and while they are engaged in them, obſerve the ſtricteſt abſtinence in this point. Formerly, if any of them did eat in white people's houſes, or even of what had been dreſſed there, while they were ſanctifying themſelves, it was deemed a dangerous ſin of pollution. When ſome of them firſt corrupted their primitive virtue, by drinking of our ſpirituous liquors, the religious ſpectators called it *ooka hoome*, "bitter waters;" alluding, I conjecture, to the bitter waters of jealouſy, that produced ſwelling and death to thoſe who committed adultery, but had no power over the innocent. That this name is not accidental, but deſignedly pointed, and expreſſive of the bitter waters of God, ſeems obvious, not only from the image they ſtill retain of them, but likewiſe when any of them refuſe our invitation of drinking ſpirituous liquors in company with us, they ſay *Abiſkòla Awa, Ooka Hoomeh Iiſhto*, "I will not drink, they are the bitter waters of the great One." Though *Iſhto*, one of the names of God, ſubjoined to nouns, denotes a ſuperlative degree, in this caſe they deviate from that general rule—and for this reaſon they never affix the idea of bitter to the ſpirituous liquors we drink among them. *Hoomeh* is the only word they have to convey the meaning of bitter; as *Aneh Hoomeh*, "bitter ears," or pepper.

They reckon all birds of prey, and birds of night, to be unclean, and unlawful to be eaten. Not long ago, when the Indians were making their winter's hunt, and the old women were without fleſh-meat at home, I ſhot a ſmall fat hawk, and deſired one of them to take and dreſs it; but though I ſtrongly importuned her by way of trial, ſhe, as earneſtly refuſed it for fear of contracting pollution, which ſhe called the "accurſed ſickneſs," ſuppoſing diſeaſe would be the neceſſary effect of ſuch an impurity. Eagles of every kind they eſteem unclean food; likewiſe ravens (though the name of a tribe with them) crows, buzzards, ſwallows, bats, and every ſpecies of owls: and they believe that ſwallowing flies, muſketoes, or gnats, always breeds ſickneſs, or worms, according to the quantity that goes into them; which though it may not imply extraordinary ſkill in phyſic, ſhews their retention of the ancient law, which prohibited the ſwallowing of flies: for to this that divine ſarcaſm alludes, "ſwallowing a camel, and ſtraining at a gnat." Such inſects were deemed unclean, as well as vexatious and hurtful. The God of Ekron was *Beelzebub*, or the God and ruler of flies.

None of them will eat of any animal whatſoever, if they either know, or ſuſpect that it died of itſelf. I lately aſked one of the women the reaſon of throwing a dung-hill-fowl out of doors, on the corn-houſe; ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was afraid, *Oophe Abeeka Hakſet Illeh*, "it died with the diſtemper of the mad dogs," and that if ſhe had eaten it, it would have affected her in the very ſame manner. I ſaid, if ſo, ſhe did well to ſave herſelf from danger, but at the ſame time, it ſeemed ſhe had forgotten the cats. She replied, "that ſuch impure animals would not contract the accurſed ſickneſs, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the fleſh of the ſwine that fed on ſuch polluting food, would certainly become mad."

In the year 1766, a madneſs ſeized the wild beaſts in the remote woods of Weſt-Florida, and about the ſame time the domeſtic dogs were attacked with the like diſtemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt, found ſeveral lying dead, ſome in a helpleſs condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they are all fond of increaſing their number of deer-ſkins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durſt venture to flay them, leſt they ſhould pollute themſelves, and thereby incur bodily evils. The head-man of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *Hottuk Hakſe*, who had reſided a long time at Savannah, from touching ſuch deer, ſaying to him *Chehakſinna*, "Do not become vicious and mad," for *Iſſe Hakſet Illehtàhah*, "the deer were mad, and are dead;" adding, that if he acted the part of *Hakſe*, he would cauſe both himſelf,

ſelf, and the reſt of the hunting camp to be ſpoiled; nevertheleſs he ſhut his ears againſt his honeſt ſpeech, and brought thoſe dangerous deer-ſkins to camp. But the people would not afterward aſſociate with him; and he ſoon paid dear for being *Hakſe*, by a ſharp ſplintered root of a cane running almoſt through his foot, near the very place where he firſt polluted himſelf; and he was afraid ſome worſe ill was ſtill in wait for him.

In 1767, the Indians were ſtruck with a diſeaſe, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with ſharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and ſwelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and alſo the teſticles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like ſpace of time went off gradually, without any dangerous conſequence, or uſe of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, "the cattle's diſtemper," or ſickneſs. Some of their young men had by ſtealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themſelves, and were ſmitten in that ſtrange manner, by having their heads, necks, &c. magnified like the ſame parts of a ſick bull. They firſt concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or ſend them immediately off their land, to prevent the like miſchief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old phyſicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former reſolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would ſpoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with theſe red Hebrew philoſophers. But fortunately, one of their head warriors had a few cattle ſoon preſented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reaſoning proved ſo weighty, as to alter their reſolution, and produce in them a contrary belief.

They reckon all thoſe animals to be unclean, that are either carnivorous, or live on naſty food; as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. And if we except the bear, they deem all beaſts of prey unhallowed, and polluted food; all amphibious quadrupeds they rank in the ſame claſs. Our old traders remember when they firſt began the cuſtom of eating beavers: and to this day none eat of them, except thoſe who kill them; though the fleſh is very wholeſome, on account of the bark of trees they live upon. It muſt be acknowledged, they are all degenerating apace, inſomuch, that the Choktah Indians, on account of their ſcantineſs of ammunition while they traded with the French, took to eat horſe-fleſh, and even ſnakes of every kind; though each of theſe ſpecies, and every ſort of reptiles, are accounted by the other neighbouring nations, impure food in the higheſt degree. And they ridicule the Choktah for their cannibal apoſtacy, and term them in common ſpeech, "the evil, ugly, Choktah."

They abhor moles ſo exceedingly, that they will not allow their children even to touch them, for fear of hurting their eye-ſight; reckoning it contagious. They believe that nature is poſſeſt of ſuch a property, as to tranſfuſe into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they uſe, or of thoſe objects that are preſented to their ſenſes; he who feeds on veniſon, is according to their phyſical ſyſtem, ſwifter and more ſagacious than the man who lives on the fleſh of the clumſy bear, or helpleſs dunghill fowls, the ſlow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing ſwine. This is the reaſon that ſeveral of their old men recommend, and ſay, that formerly their greateſt chieftains obſerved a conſtant rule in their diet, and ſeldom ate of any animal of a groſs quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dullneſs through the whole ſyſtem, and diſabled them from exerting themſelves with proper vigour in their martial, civil, and religious duties.

I have already ſhewn their averſion to eating of unſanctified fruits; and in this argument, that they abſtain from ſeveral other things, contrary to the uſage of all the old heathen world. It may be objected, that now they ſeldom refuſe to eat hogs fleſh, when the traders invite them to it; but this proceeds entirely from vicious imitation, and which is common with the moſt civilized nations. When ſwine were firſt brought among them, they deemed it ſuch a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-houſe, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of ſins, equally as if he had eaten unſanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his uſual privileges. Formerly, none of their beloved men, or warriors, would eat or drink with us on the moſt preſſing invitation, through fear of polluting themſelves, they deemed us ſuch impure animals. Our eating the fleſh of ſwine, and veniſon, with the gravy in it, helped to rivet their diſlike, for this they reckon as blood.

I once aſked the *Archimagus*, to ſit down and partake of my dinner; but he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, he had in a few days ſome holy duty to perform, and that if he eat evil or accurſed food, it would ſpoil him,—alluding to ſwine's fleſh. Though moſt of their virtue hath lately been corrupted, in this particular they ſtill affix vicious and contemptible ideas to the eating of ſwine's fleſh; inſomuch, that *Shúkàpa*, "ſwine eater," is the moſt opprobious epithet they can uſe to brand us with: they commonly ſubjoin *Akanggàpa*, "eater of dunghill fowls." Both together, ſignify "filthy, helpleſs animals." By our ſurpriſing miſmanagement in allowing them a long time to inſult, abuſe, rob, and murder the innocent Britiſh ſubjects at pleaſure, without the leaſt ſatisfaction, all the Indian nations formerly deſpiſed the Engliſh, as a ſwarm of tame fowls, and termed them ſo, in their ſet ſpeeches.

The Indians through a ſtrong principle of religion, abſtain in the ſtricteſt manner, from eating the Blood of any animal; as it contains the life, and ſpirit of the beaſt, and was the very eſſence of the ſacrifices that were to be offered up for ſinners. And this was the Jewiſh opinion and law of ſacrifice, Lev. xvii. 11. "for the life of the fleſh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your ſouls; for it is the blood, which maketh an atonement for the ſoul." When the Engliſh traders have been making ſauſages mixt with hog's blood, I have obſerved the Indians to caſt their eyes upon them, with the horror of their reputed fore-fathers, when they viewed the predicted abomination of deſolation, fulfilled by Antiochus, in defiling the temple.

An inſtance lately happened, which ſufficiently ſhews their utter averſion to blood. A Chikkeſah woman, a domeſtic of one of the traders, being very ill with a complication of diſorders, the Indian phyſician ſeemed to uſe his beſt endeavours to cure her, but without the leaſt viſible effect.

To preſerve his medical credit with the people, he at laſt aſcribed her ailment to the eating of ſwine's fleſh, blood, and other polluting food: and ſaid, that ſuch an ugly, or accurſed ſickneſs, overcame the power of all his beloved ſongs, and phyſic; and in anger, he left his ſuppoſed criminal patient to be puniſhed by Loak Iſhtohoollo. I aſked her ſome time afterwards, what her ailments were, and what ſhe imagined might have occaſioned them? She ſaid, ſhe was full of pain, that ſhe had *Abeeka Ookproo*, "the accurſed ſickneſs," becauſe ſhe had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *Iſſiſh Ookproo*, "accurſed blood," in them. In time ſhe recovered, and now ſtrictly abſtains from tame fowls, unleſs they are bled to death, for fear of incurring future evil, by the like pollution.

There is not the leaſt trace among their ancient traditions, of their deſerving the hateful name of cannibals, as our credulous writers have carefully copied from each other. Their taſte is ſo oppoſite to that of the Anthrophagi, that they always over-dreſs their meat whether roaſted or boiled.

The Muſkoghe who have been at war, time out of mind, againſt the Indians of Cape-Florida, and at length reduced them to thirty men, who removed to the Havannah along with the Spaniards; affirm, they could never be informed by their captives, of the leaſt inclination they ever had of eating human fleſh, only the heart of the enemy—which they all do, ſympathetically (blood for blood) in order to inſpire them with courage; and yet the conſtant loſſes they ſuffered, might have highly provoked them to exceed their natural barbarity. To eat the heart of an enemy will in their opinion, like eating other things, before mentioned, communicate and give greater heart againſt the enemy. They alſo think that the vigorous faculties of the mind are derived from the brain, on which account, I have ſeen ſome of their heroes drink out of a human ſkull; they imagine, they only imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained.

When ſpeaking to the *Archimagus* concerning the Hottentots, thoſe heterogeneous animals according to the Portugueſe and Dutch accounts, he aſked me, whether they builded and planted—and what ſort of food they chiefly lived upon. I told him, I was informed that they dwelt in ſmall naſty huts, and lived chiefly on ſheep's guts and crickets. He laughed, and ſaid there was no credit to be given to the far-diſtant writers of thoſe old books, becauſe they might not have underſtood the language and cuſtoms of the people; but that thoſe, whom our books reported to live on ſuch naſty food, (if they did not deceive us) might have been forced to it for the want of better, to keep them from dying; or by the like occaſion, they might have learned that ugly cuſtom, and could not quit it when they were free from want, as the Choktah eat horſe-fleſh, though they have plenty of veniſon: however, it was very eaſy, he ſaid, to know whether they were poſſeſſed of human reaſon, for if they were endued with ſhame to have a deſire of covering their nakedneſs, he concluded them to be human. He then aſked me, whether I had been informed of their having any ſort of language, or method of counting as high as the number of their fingers, either by words or expreſſive motion; or of bearing a nearer reſemblance to *Yáwe* the human creature, in laughter, than *Shawe* the ape bore; or of being more ſocial and gregarious than thoſe animals of the country where they lived. If they were endued with thoſe properties, he affirmed them to be human creatures; and that ſuch old lying books ſhould not be credited.

The more religious, or the leaſt corrupted, of the various remote Indian nations, will not eat of any young beaſt when it is newly yeaned; and their old men think they would ſuffer damage, even by the bare contact: which ſeems to be derived from the Moſaic law, that prohibited ſuch animals to be offered up, or eaten, till they were eight days old; becauſe, till then, they were in an imperfect and polluted ſtate! They appear, however, to be utterly ignorant of the deſign and meaning of this appointment and practice, as well as of ſome other cuſtoms and inſtitutions. But as the time of circumciſing the Iſraelitiſh children was founded on this law of purity, it ſeems probable, that the American Aborigines obſerved the law of circumciſion, for ſome time after they arrived here, and deſiſted from it, when it became incompatible with the hard daily toils and ſharp exerciſes, which neceſſity muſt have forced them to purſue, to ſupport life: eſpecially when we conſider, that the ſharpeſt and moſt laſting affront, the moſt opprobious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can poſſibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waſke*, Eunuchus, præputio detecto. They reſent it ſo highly, that in the year

1750,

1750, when the Cheerakee were on the point of commencing a war againſt us, ſeveral companies of the northern Indians, in concert with them, compelled me in the lower Cheerakee town to write to the government of South-Carolina, that they made it their earneſt requeſt to the Engliſh not to mediate in their war with the Katáhba Indians, as they were fully reſolved to proſecute it, with the greateſt eagerneſs, while there was one of that hateful name alive; becauſe in the time of battle, they had given them the ugly name of ſhort-tailed eunuchs. Now as an eunuch was a contemptible name with the Iſraelites, and none of them could ſerve in any religious office; it ſhould ſeem that the Indians derived this opprobious and ſingular epithet from Jewiſh tradition, as caſtration was never in uſe among the ancient or preſent Americans.

The Iſraelites were but forty years in the wilderneſs, and would not have renewed the painful act of circumciſion, only that Joſhua inforced it: and by the neceſſary fatigues and difficulties, to which as already hinted, the primitive Americans muſt be expoſed at their firſt arrival in this waſte and extenſive wilderneſs, it is likely they forbore circumciſion, upon the divine principle extended to their ſuppoſed predeceſſors in the wilderneſs, of not accepting ſacrifice at the expence of mercy. This might ſoothe them afterwards wholly to reject it as a needleſs duty, eſpecially if any of the eaſtern heathens accompanied them in their travels in queſt of freedom. And as it is probable, that by the time they reached America, they had worn out their knives and every other ſharp inſtrument fit for the occaſion; ſo had they performed the operation with flint-ſtones, or ſharp ſplinters, there is no doubt that each of the mothers would have likewiſe ſaid, "This day, thou art to me a bloody huſband *." However, from the contemptible idea the Americans fix to caſtration, &c. it ſeems very probable the more religious among them uſed circumciſion in former ages.

Under this argument, I muſt obſerve that *Ai-ú-be* ſignifies "the thigh" of any animal; and *E-ee-pattáh Tekále*, "the lower part of the thigh," or literally, "the hanging of the foot." And when in the woods, the Indians cut a ſmall piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of veniſon-hams they bring to our trading houſes, I do not remember to have obſerved one without it; from which I conjecture, that as every ancient cuſtom was deſigned to convey, either a typical, or literal inſtructive leſſon of ſome uſeful thing; and as no uſage of the old heathen world reſembled this cuſtom; it ſeems ſtrongly to point at Jacob's wreſtling with an angel, and obtaining for himſelf and his poſterity, the name, ישר־אל, (perhaps, *Yoſher-ale*) "divine guide," or "one who prevails with the omnipotent," and to the children of Iſrael not eating the ſinew of the thigh of any animal, to perpetuate the memory of their anceſtor's ſinew being ſhrunk, which was to obtain the bleſſing.

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* Exod. iv. 25, 26.

The Indians always ſew their maccaſenes with deer's ſinews, though of a ſharp cutting quality, for they reckon them more fortunate than the wild hemp: but to eat ſuch, they imagine would breed worms, and other ailments, in proportion to the number they eat. And I have been aſſured by a gentleman of character, who is now an inhabitant of South-Carolina, and well acquainted with the cuſtoms of the northern Indians, that they alſo cut a piece out of the thigh of every deer they kill, and throw it away; and reckon it ſuch a dangerous pollution to eat it, as to occaſion ſickneſs and other misfortunes of ſundry kinds; eſpecially by ſpoiling their guns from ſhooting with proper force and direction. Now as none of the old heathens had ſuch a cuſtom, muſt it not be conſidered as of Iſraelitiſh extraction?

ARGUMENT XIII.

The Indian Marriages, Divorces, and Punishments of adultery, ſtill retain a ſtrong likeneſs to the Jewiſh laws and cuſtoms in theſe points.

The Hebrews had ſponſalia de preſenti, and ſponſalia de futuro: a conſiderable time generally intervened between their contract and marriage: and their nuptial ceremonies were celebrated in the night. The Indians obſerve the ſame cuſtoms to this day; inſomuch, that it is uſual for an elderly man to take a girl, or ſometimes a child to be his wife, becauſe ſhe is capable of receiving good impreſſions in that tender ſtate: frequently, a moon elapſes after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom ſleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers.

The grandeur of the Hebrews conſiſted pretty much in the multiplicity of their wives to attend them, as a ſhowy retinue: as the meaner ſort could not well purchaſe one, they had a light ſort of marriage ſuitable to their circumſtances, called by the ſcholiaſts, *uſu capio*; "taking the woman for preſent uſe." When they had lived together about a year, if agreeable, they parted good friends by mutual conſent. The Indians alſo are ſo fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull conſtitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and ſupport her, though numberleſs circumſtances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dreſs *alamode America*, he ſtrikes up one of thoſe matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopſa Táwah*, "a make haſte marriage," becauſe it wants the uſual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages.

The friendlieſt kind of marriage among the Hebrews, was eating bread together. The bridegroom put a ring on the fourth finger of the bride's left hand before two witneſſes, and ſaid, "Be thou my wife, according to the law of Moſes." Her acceptance and ſilence implying conſent, confirmed her part of the marriage contract, becauſe of the rigid modeſty of the eaſtern women. When the ſhort marriage contract was read over, he took a cake of bread and broke it in two, for himſelf and her; or otherwiſe, he put ſome corn between their hands: which cuſtoms were uſed as ſtrong emblems of the neceſſity of mutual induſtry and concord, to obtain preſent and future happineſs. When an Indian makes his firſt addreſs to the young woman he intends to marry, ſhe is obliged by ancient cuſtom to ſit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether ſhe likes or diſlikes him; but afterward, ſhe is at her own choice whether to ſtay or retire *. When the bridegroom marries the bride, after the uſual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witneſſes, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himſelf; or otherwiſe, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readineſs with which ſhe ought to ſerve him: in return, ſhe preſents him with ſome cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domeſtic care and gratitude in return for the offals; for the men feaſt by themſelves, and the women eat the remains. When this ſhort ceremony is ended, they may go to bed like an honeſt couple.

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* Cant. iii. 4. I held him and would not let him go, until I had brought him to my father's houſe, and into the chambers of her that conceived me: See Gen. xxiv. 67. Such was the cuſtom of the Hebrews.

Formerly, this was an univerſal cuſtom among the native Americans; but this, like every other uſage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The Weſt-Floridans, in order to keep their women ſubject to the law of adultery, bring ſome veniſon or buffalo's fleſh to the houſe of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a ſufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the huſbands do not cohabit with them. The Muſkóhge men, if newly married, are obliged by ancient cuſtom, to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed: and the more jealous, repeat the cuſtom every year, to make their wives ſubject to the laws againſt adultery. But the Indians in general, reckon that before the bridegroom can preſume to any legal power over the bride, he is after the former ceremonies, or others ſomething ſimilar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcaſs of veniſon, and lay it down at her houſe wrapt up in its ſkin; and if ſhe opens the pack, carries it into the houſe, and then dreſſes and gives him ſome of it to eat with cakes before witneſſes, ſhe becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adultereſs.

The Hebrews had another ſort of marriage—by purchaſe: the bridegroom gave the father of the bride as much as he thought ſhe was worth: and according to the different valuation, ſo ſooner or later ſhe went off at market. The only way to know the merit of a Hebrew lady, was to enquire the value for which her father would ſell her, and the leſs rapacious he was, the ſooner ſhe might get an huſband. Divine writ abounds with inſtances of the like kind; as Gen. xxxiv. 12. "Aſk me never ſo much dowry and I will give it." David bought Michal, and Jacob dearly purchaſed Rachel, &c. The women brought nothing with them, except their clothes, rings and bracelets, and a few trinkets. When the Indians would expreſs a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a ſuitable idea of it; but when they are ſpeaking of their ſenſual marriage bargains, they always term it, "buying a woman;" for example—they ſay with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas*, "I ſhall marry you," the laſt ſyllable denotes the firſt perſon of the future tenſe, the former "I ſhall make you, as *Awa*, or *Hewa* was to *Iſh*," which is confirmed by a ſtrong negative ſimilar expreſſion, *Che-Awala Awa*, "I ſhall not marry you." But the name of their market marriages, is *Otoolpha*, *Eho Achumbàras*, *Saookcháa*, "In the ſpring, I ſhall buy a woman, if I am alive." Or *Eho Achumbàra Awa*, "I ſhall not buy a woman," *Sàlbaſa toogat*, "for indeed I am poor:" the former uſage, and method of language is exactly calculated to expreſs that ſingular cuſtom of the Hebrews, per coemptionem.

They ſometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom ſends ſo much in value to the neareſt relations of the intended bride, as he thinks ſhe is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good ſign that her relations approve of the match, but ſhe is not bound by their contract alone; her conſent muſt likewiſe be obtained, but perſuaſions moſt commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too ſmall, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himſelf, or ſome of his neareſt kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it, according to the like method of expreſſion with the Hebrews, the loving couple may in a ſhort time bed together upon trial, and continue or diſcontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honeſt married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already deſcribed. When one of their chieftains is married, ſeveral of his kinſmen help to kill deer and buffalos, to make a rejoicing marriage feaſt, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors ſing with their two chief muſicians, who beat on their wet deer ſkin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raiſe their voices, ſinging *Yo Yo*, &c. When they are tired with feaſting, dancing, and ſinging the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the houſe of praiſe.

If an Iſraelite lay with a bond woman betrothed, and not redeemed, ſhe was to be beaten, but not her fellow criminal; for in the original text, Lev. xix. 20. the word is in the fœminine gender. When offenders were beaten, they were bowed down, as Deut. xxv. 2.—ſo that they neither ſat nor ſtood, and their whip had a large knot to it, which commanded the thongs, ſo as to expand, or contract them; the puniſhment was always to be ſuited to the nature of the crime, and the conſtitution of the criminal. While the offenders were under the laſh, three judges ſtood by to ſee that they received their full and juſt due. The firſt repeated the words of Deut. xxviii. 58. the ſecond counted the ſtripes, and the third ſaid, "Hack, or lay on." The offender received three laſhes on the breaſt, three on the belly, three on each ſhoulder, &c. But adultery was attended with capital puniſhment, as Deut. xxii. 22. The parties when legally detected, were tried by the leſſer judicatory, which was to conſiſt, at leaſt of twenty-three: the Sanhedrim gave the bitter waters to thoſe women who were ſuſpected of adultery. The former were ſtoned to death; and the latter burſt open, according to their imprecation, if they were guilty: the omnipotent divine wiſdom impreſſed thoſe waters with that wonderful quality, contrary to the common courſe of nature. The men married, and were divorced as often as their caprice directed them; for if they imagined their wives did not value them, according to their own partial opinion of themſelves, they notified the occaſion of the diſlike, in a ſmall billet, that her virtue might not be ſuſpected: and when they gave any of them the ticket, they ate together in a very civil manner, and thus diſſolved the contract.

I have premiſed this, to trace the reſemblance to the marriage divorces and puniſhments of the ſavage Americans. The middle aged people of a place, which lies about half-way to Mobille, and the Illinois, aſſure us, that they remember when adultery was puniſhed among them with death, by ſhooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no ſtones there. But what with the loſſes of their people at war with the French and their ſavage confederates, and the conſtitutional wantonneſs of their young men and women, they have through a political deſire of continuing, or increaſing their numbers, moderated the ſeverity of that law, and reduced it to the preſent ſtandard of puniſhment; which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one perſon, the evidence is deemed good in judgment againſt her; the evidence of a well grown boy or girl, they even reckon ſufficient, becauſe of the heinouſneſs of the crime, and the difficulty of diſcovering it in their thick foreſts. This is a corruption of the Moſaic law, which required two evidences, and exempted both women and ſlaves from public faith; becauſe of the reputed fickleneſs of the one, and the baſe, groveling temper of the other. When the crime is proved againſt the woman, the enraged huſband accompanied by ſome of his relations, ſurpriſes and beats her moſt barbarouſly, and then cuts off her hair and noſe, or one of her lips. There are many of that ſort of disfigured females among the Chikkaſah, and they are commonly the beſt featured, and the moſt tempting of any of their country-women, which expoſed them to the ſnares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably firſt tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal puniſhment.

With the Muſkohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law ſaid, if he was a few ſteps apart, and ſhe at his requeſt ſet it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without expoſing her to any danger. If we ſeriouſly reflect on the reſt of their native cuſtoms, this old law, ſo ſingular to themſelves from the reſt of the world, gives us room to think they drew it from the Jewiſh bitter waters that were given to real, or ſuſpected adultereſſes, either to prove their guilt, or atteſt their innocence.

Among thoſe Indians, when adultery is diſcovered, the offending parties commonly ſet off ſpeedily for the diſtant woods, to ſecure themſelves from the ſhameful badge of the ſharp penal law, which they inevitably get, if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of ſin; afterward, every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always purſued, and frequently overtaken; though perhaps, three or four moons abſent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers, on contrary courſes, and by various intricate windings—the purſuers are eager, and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the huſband has the chilling news firſt whiſpered in his ear, he ſteals off with his witneſs to ſome of his kinſmen, to get them to aſſiſt him in revenging his injury: they are ſoon joined by a ſufficient number of the ſame family, if the criminal was not of the ſame tribe; otherwiſe, he chuſes to confide in his neareſt relations. When the witneſs has aſſerted to them the truth of his evidence by a ſtrong aſſeveration, they ſeparate to avoid ſuſpicion, and meet commonly in the duſk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a ſmall hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient cuſtom) with which they correct the ſinners; for as their law in this caſe doth not allow partiality, if they puniſhed one of them, and either excuſed or let the other eſcape from juſtice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to ſuch puniſhment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties.

They commonly begin with the adulterer, becauſe of the two, he is the more capable of making his eſcape: they generally attack him at night, by ſurpriſe, leſt he ſhould make a deſperate reſiſtance, and blood be ſhed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and mercileſs, whooping their revengeful noiſe, and thraſhing their captive, with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; ſome over his head and face; others on his ſhoulders and back. His belly, ſides, legs, and arms, are gaſhed all over, and at laſt, he happily ſeems to be inſenſible of pain: then they cut off his ears*.

They obſerve, however, a gradation of puniſhment, according to the criminality of the adultereſs. For the firſt breach of the marriage faith, they crop her ears and hair, if the huſband is ſpiteful: either of thoſe badges proclaim her to be a whore, or *Hakſe Kaneha*, "ſuch as were evil in Canaan," for the hair of their head is their ornament: when looſe it commonly reaches below their back; and when tied, it ſtands below the crown of the head, about four inches long, and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the reſt of the women, by being trimmed ſo ſharp, ſhe always keeps her dark winter hot houſe, till by keeping the hair moiſtened with greaſe, it grows ſo long as to bear tying. Then ſhe accuſtoms herſelf to the light by degrees; and ſoon ſome worthleſs fellow, according to their ſtandard, buys her for his *And*; which term hath been already explained.

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* Among theſe Indians, the trading people's ears are often in danger, by the ſharpneſs of this law, and their ſuborning falſe witneſſes, or admitting fooliſh children as legal evidence; but generally either the tender-hearted females or friends, give them timely notice of their danger. Then they fall to the rum-keg, — and as ſoon as they find the purſuers approaching, they ſtand to arms in a threatning parade. Formerly, the traders like ſo many Britiſh tars, kept them in proper awe, and conſequently prevented them from attempting any miſchief. But ſince the patenteed race of Daublers ſet foot in their land, they have gradually become worſe every year, murdering valuable innocent Britiſh ſubjects at pleaſure: and when they go down, they receive preſents as a tribute of fear, for which theſe Indians upbraid, and threaten us. The Muſkohge lately clipt off the ears of two white men for ſuppoſed adultery. One had been a diſciple of *Black Beard*, the pirate; and the other, at the time of going under the hands of thoſe Jewiſh clippers, was deputed by the whimſical war-governor of Georgia, to awe the traders into an obedience of his deſpotic power. His ſucceſſor loſt his life on the Chikkaſah war-path, twenty miles above the Kooſah, or uppermoſt weſtern town of the Muſkohge, in an attempt to arreſt the traders; which ſhould not by any means be undertaken in the Indian country.

The adulterer's ears are ſlaſhed off cloſe to his head, for the firſt act of adultery, becauſe he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married perſons, their noſes and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature, is attended with more danger; for their law ſays, that for public heinous crimes, ſatisfaction ſhould be made viſible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous,—to ſet their aggrieved hearts at eaſe, and prevent others from following ſuch a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery, nor be terrified, nor ſhamed from their ill courſe of life; that the one may not frighten and abuſe their wives, nor the other ſeduce their huſbands and be a laſting plague and ſhame to the whole ſociety, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be ſhot to death, which is accordingly executed: but this ſeldom happens.

When I aſked the Chikkaſah the reaſon of the inequality of their marriage-law, in puniſhing the weaker paſſive party, and exempting the ſtronger, contrary to reaſon and juſtice; they told me, it had been ſo a conſiderable time—becauſe their land being a continual ſeat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put ſuch old croſs laws of marriage in force, all their beloved briſk warriors would ſoon be ſpoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waſte. It is remarkable, that the ancient Egyptians cut off the ears and noſe of the adultereſs; and the prophet alludes to this ſort of puniſhment, Ezek. xxiii. 25. "They ſhall deal furiouſly with thee: they ſhall take away thy noſe and thine ears." And they gave them alſo a thouſand ſtripes, with canes on the buttocks *. The Cheerake are an exception to all civilized or ſavage nations, in having no laws againſt adultery; they have been a conſiderable while under petticoat-government, and allow their women full liberty to plant their brows with horns as oft as they pleaſe, without fear of puniſhment. On this account their marriages are ill obſerved, and of a ſhort continuance; like the Amazons, they divorce their ſighing bed-fellows at their pleaſure, and fail not to execute their authority, when their fancy directs them to a more agreeable choice. However, once in my time a number of warriors, belonging to the family of the huſband of the adultereſs, revenged the injury committed by her, in her own way; for they ſaid, as ſhe loved a great many men, inſtead of a huſband, juſtice told them to gratify her longing deſire—wherefore, by the information of their ſpies, they followed her into the woods a little way from the town, (as decency required) and then ſtretched her on the ground, with her hands tied to a ſtake, and her feet alſo extended, where upwards of fifty of them lay with her, having a blanket for a covering. The Choktah obſerve the ſame ſavage cuſtom with adultereſſes. They term their female delinquents, *Abowwe Iſhto*; the firſt is a Cheerake word, ſignifying, "a deer."—And through contempt of the Chikkaſah, they altered their penal law of adultery.

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* When human laws were firſt made, they commanded that if the huſband found the adulterer in the fact, he ſhould kill them both. Thus the laws of Solon and Draco ordained: but the law of the twelve tables ſoftened it.

The Muſkohge Indians, either through the view of mitigating their law againſt adultery, that it might be adapted to their patriarchal-like government; or by miſunderſtanding the Moſaic precept, from length of time, and uncertainty of oral tradition, oblige the adultereſs under the penalty of the ſevereſt law not to be free with any man, (unleſs ſhe is inclined to favour her fellow ſufferer) during the ſpace of four moons, after the broken moon in which they ſuffered for each other, according to the cuſtom of the Maldivians. But her huſband expoſes himſelf to the utmoſt ſeverity of the marriage law, if he is known to hold a familiar intercourſe with her after the time of her puniſhment.

ARGUMENT XIV.

Many other of the INDIAN PUNISHMENTS, reſemble thoſe of the Jews. Whoſoever attentively views the features of the Indian, and his eye, and reflects on his fickle, obſtinate, and cruel diſpoſition, will naturally think on the Jews. Engliſh America, feelingly knows the parity of the temper of their neighbouring Indians, with that of the Hebrew nation.

The Iſraelites cut off the hands and feet of murderers, 2 Sam. iv. 12.—ſtrangled falſe prophets—and ſometimes burned, ſtoned, or beheaded thoſe malefactors who were condemned by the two courts of judgment. The Indians either by the defect of tradition, or through a greedy deſire of revenge, torture their priſoners and devoted captives, with a mixture of all thoſe Jewiſh capital puniſhments. They keep the original ſo cloſe in their eye, as to pour cold water on the ſufferers when they are fainting, or overcome by the fiery torture—to refreſh, and enable them to undergo longer tortures. The Hebrews gave wine mixt with the juice of myrrh, to their tortured criminals, to revive their ſpirits; and ſometimes vinegar to prevent too great an effuſion of blood, leſt they ſhould be diſappointed in glutting their greedy eyes, with their favourite tragedy of blood: which was eminently exemplified in their inſulting treatment of Chriſt on the croſs.

The Indians, beyond all the reſt of mankind, ſeem in this reſpect to be actuated with the Jewiſh ſpirit. They jeer, taunt, laugh, whoop, and rejoice at the inexpreſſible agonies of thoſe unfortunate perſons, who are under their butchering hands; which would excite pity and horror in any heart, but that of a Jew. When they are far from home, they keep as near to their diſtinguiſhing cuſtoms, as circumſtances allow them: not being able formerly to cut off the heads of thoſe they killed in war, for want of proper weapons; nor able to carry them three or four hundred miles without putrefaction, they cut off the ſkin of their heads with their flint-ſtone knives, as ſpeaking trophies of honour, and which regiſter them among the brave by procuring them war titles. Though now they have plenty of proper weapons, they vary not from this ancient barbarous cuſtom of the American aborigines: which has been too well known by many of our northern coloniſts, and is yet ſhamefully ſo to South-Carolina and Georgia barriers, by the hateful name of ſcalping.

The Indians ſtrictly adhere more than the reſt of mankind to that poſitive, unrepealed law of Moſes, "He who ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed:" like the Iſraelites, their hearts burn violently day and night without intermiſſion, till they ſhed blood for blood. They tranſmit from father to ſon, the memory of the loſs of their relation, or one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman—if ſhe was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinſman, the eldeſt can redeem: however, if the circumſtances attending the fact be peculiar and ſhocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a ſinner, " without any one to mourn for him," as in the caſe of ſuicide; contrary to their uſage toward the reſt of their dead, and which may properly be called the death or burial of a Jewiſh aſs.

When they have had ſucceſs in killing the enemy, they tie fire-brands in the moſt frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may be readily ſeen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggreſſors have loudly declared war, it would be madneſs or treachery in their opinion to uſe ſuch public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their deſign of retaliating, and deſtroy the honeſt intention of war. They likewiſe ſtrip the bark off ſeveral large trees in conſpicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death. The laſt were ſtrong and ſimilar emblems with the Hebrews, and the firſt is analogous to one of their martial cuſtoms; for when they arrived at the enemies territories, they threw a fire-brand within their land, as an emblem of the anger of *Aſh*, " the holy fire" for their ill deeds to his peculiarly beloved people. To which cuſtom Obadiah alludes, when he ſays, (ver. 18.) " they ſhall kindle in them and devour them, there ſhall not be any remaining of the houſe of Eſau, &c." which the Septuagint tranſlates, " one who carries a fire-brand." The conduct of the Iſraelitiſh champion, Sampſon, againſt the Philiſtines, proceeded from the ſame war cuſtom, when he took three-hundred *Shugnalim*, (which is a bold ſtrong metaphor) ſignifying *Vulpes*, foxes or ſheaves of corn; and tying them tail to tail, or one end to the other in a continued train, he ſet fire to them, and by that means, burned down their ſtanding corn.

In the late Cheerake war, at the earneſt perſuaſions of the trading people, ſeveral of the Muſkohge warriors came down to the barrier-ſettlements of Georgia,

gia, to go againſt the Cheerake, and revenge Engliſh crying blood: but the main body of the nation ſent a running embaſſy to the merchants there, requeſting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwiſe, they ſhould be forced by diſagreeable neceſſity to revenge their relations blood if it ſhould chance to be ſpilt contrary to their ancient laws: this alludes to the levitical law, by which he who decoyed another to his end, was deemed the occaſion of his death, and conſequently anſwerable for it. If an unruly horſe belonging to a white man, ſhould chance to be tied at a trading houſe and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the houſe, or the perſon who tied the beaſt there, is reſponſible for it, by their lex talionis; which ſeems to be derived alſo from the Moſaic precept,—if an ox known by its owner to puſh with its horn, ſhould kill a perſon, they were both to die the death. If the Indians have a diſlike to a perſon, who by any caſualty was the death of one of their people, he ſtands accountable, and will certainly ſuffer for it, unleſs he takes ſanctuary.

I knew an under trader, who being intruſted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muſkohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppoſe ſome of thoſe ſavages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with ſpirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the reſiſtance he met with, the trader like a brave man, oppoſed lawleſs force by force: ſome time after, the lawleſs bacchanal was attacked with a pleuriſy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceaſed convened the leſſer judicatory, and condemned the trader to be ſhot to death for the ſuppoſed murder of their kinſman; which they eaſily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering deſign. His employer however had ſuch a friendly intercourſe with them, as to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his perſon or intereſt; but he was ſo far from aſſiſting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went baſely to the next town, while the ſavages painted themſelves red and black, and give them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have eaſily eſcaped to the Engliſh ſettlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the ſuppoſed murderer eſcapes, his neareſt kinſman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend ſtands according to their rigorous law, anſwerable for the fact. But though the then governor of South Carolina was ſufficiently informed of this tragedy, and that it was done contrary to the treaty of amity, and that there is no poſſibility of managing them, but by their own notions of virtue, he was paſſive, and allowed them with impunity to ſhed this innocent blood; which they ever ſince have improved to our ſhame and ſorrow. They have gradually become worſe every year; and corrupted other nations by their contagious copy, ſo as to draw them into the like bloody ſcenes, with the ſame contempt, as if they had killed ſo many helpleſs timorous dunghill fowls, as they deſpitefully term us.

There never was any ſet of people, who purſued the Moſaic law of *retaliation* with ſuch a fixt eagerneſs as theſe Americans. They are ſo determined in this point, that formerly a little boy ſhooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced ſlightly to wound another with his childiſh arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by cuſtom to watch his ways with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, "all was ſtraight," according to their phraſe. Their hearts were at reſt, by having executed that ſtrong law of nature, and they ſported together as before. This obſervation though ſmall in itſelf, is great in its combined circumſtances, as it is contrary to the uſage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of ſins, except murder, which is always puniſhed with death. The Indians conſtantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they ſay, that all nations of people who are not utterly ſunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have reſt, coſt what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. And when the heart of the revenger of blood in Iſrael was hot within him, it was a terrible thing for the caſual *manſlayer* to meet him, Deut. xix. 6. "Leſt the avenger of blood purſue the ſlayer while his heart is hot, and overtake him, becauſe the way is long, and ſlay him; whereas he was not worthy of death, inaſmuch as he hated him not in time paſt."

I have known the Indians to go a thouſand miles, for the purpoſe of revenge, in pathleſs woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane ſwamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poiſonous ſnakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the ſame time they were expoſed to the extremities of heat and cold, the viciſſitude of the ſeaſons; to hunger and thirſt, both by chance, and their religious ſcanty method of living when at war, to fatigues, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly contemn all thoſe things as imaginary trifles, if they are ſo happy as to get the ſcalp of the murderer, or enemy, to ſatisfy the ſuppoſed craving ghoſts of their deceaſed relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will ſend off the ghoſts of their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the ſpirits of thoſe who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no reſt, and at night haunt the houſes of the tribe to which they belonged*: but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is juſtly executed, they immediately get eaſe and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, occaſion them to retaliate in ſo earneſt and fierce a manner. It is natural for friends to ſtudy each others mutual happineſs, and we ſhould pity the weakneſs of thoſe who are deſtitute of our advantages; whoſe intellectual powers are unimproved, and who are utterly unacquainted with the ſciences, as well as every kind of mechanical buſineſs, to engage their attention at home. Such perſons cannot well live without war; and being deſtitute of public faith to ſecure the lives of embaſſadors in time of war, they have no ſure method to reconcile their differences: conſequently, when any caſual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more ſpiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, ſo as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they muſt go abroad to ſpill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We muſt alſo conſider, it is by ſcalps they get all their war-titles, which diſtinguiſh them among the brave: and theſe they hold in as high eſteem, as the moſt ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph. By how much the deeper any ſociety of people are ſunk in ignorance, ſo much the more they value themſelves on their bloody merit. This was long the characteriſtic of the Hebrew nation, and has been conveyed down to theſe their ſuppoſed red deſcendants.

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* As the Hebrews ſuppoſed there was a holineſs in Canaan, more than in any other land, ſo they believed that their bodies buried out of it, would be carried through caverns, or ſubterraneous paſſages of the earth to the holy land, where they ſhall riſe again and dart up to their holy attracting centre.

However, notwithſtanding their bloody temper and conduct towards enemies, when their law of blood does not interfere, they obſerve that Moſaic precept, "He ſhall be dealt with according as he intended to do to his neighbour, but the innocent and righteous man thou ſhalt not ſlay." I muſt obſerve alſo that as the Jewiſh prieſts were by no means to ſhed human blood, and as king David was forbidden by the prophet to build a temple becauſe he was a man of war and had ſhed blood — ſo, the Indian *Iſhtohoollo* "holy men" are by their function abſolutely forbidden to ſlay; notwithſtanding their propenſity thereto, even for ſmall injuries. They will not allow the greateſt warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand ſacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occaſion, except the leader. All muſt be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every ſtain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with ſtreaks of white clay.

As this branch of the general ſubject cannot be illuſtrated, but by well-known facts, I ſhall exemplify it with the late and long-continued conduct of the nothern Indians, and thoſe of Cape Florida, whom our navigators have reported to be cannibals. The Muskohge, who have been bitter enemies to the Cape Florida Indians, time immemorial, affirm their manners, tempers and appetites, to be the very ſame as thoſe of the neighbouring Indian nations. And the Florida captives who were ſold in Carolina, have told me, that the Spaniards of St. Auguſtine and St. Mark's garriſons, not only hired and paid them for murdering our ſeamen, who were ſo unfortunate as to be ſhipwrecked on their dangerous coaſt; but that they delivered up to the ſavages thoſe of our people they did not like, to be put to the fiery torture. From their bigotted perſecuting ſpirit, we may conclude the victims to have been thoſe who would not worſhip their images and crucifixes. The Spaniards no doubt could eaſily influence this decayed ſmall tribe to ſuch a practice, as they depended upon them for the neceſſaries of life: and though they could never ſettle out of their garriſons in Weſt-Florida, on account of the jealous temper of the neighbouring unconquered Indians, yet the Cape-Floridans were only Spaniſh mercenaries, ſhedding blood for their maintenance. A ſeduced In-

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dian is certainly leſs faulty than the apoſtate Chriſtian who inſtigated him: when an Indian ſheds human blood, it does not proceed from wantonneſs, or the view of doing evil, but ſolely to put the law of retaliation in force, to return one injury for another; but, if he has received no ill, and has no ſuſpicion of the kind, he uſually offers no damage to thoſe who fall in his power, but is moved with compaſſion, in proportion to what they ſeem to have undergone. Such as they devote to the fire, they flatter with the hope of being redeemed, as long as they can, to prevent the giving them any previous anxiety or grief, which their law of blood does not require.

The French Canadians are highly cenſurable, and their bloody popiſh clergy, for debauching our peaceable northern Indians, with their *infernal catechiſm*,—the firſt introduction into their religious myſteries. Formerly, when they initiated the Indian ſucklings into their mixt idolatrous worſhip, they faſtened round their necks, a bunch of their favourite red and black beads, with a ſilver croſs hanging down on their breaſts, thus engaging them, as they taught, to fight the battles of God. Then they infected the credulous Indians with a firm belief, that God once ſent his own beloved ſon to fix the red people in high places of power, over the reſt of mankind; that he paſſed through various countries, to the univerſal joy of the inhabitants, in order to come to the beloved red people, and place them in a ſuperior ſtation of life to the reſt of the American world; but when he was on the point of ſailing to America, to execute his divine embaſſy, he was murdered by the bloody monopolizing Engliſh, at the city of London, only to make the red people weigh light. Having thus inſtructed, and given them the catechiſm by way of queſtion and anſwer, and furniſhed them with 2000 groſs of ſcalping knives and other murdering articles, the catechumens ſoon ſallied forth, and painted themſelves all over with the innocent blood of our fellow-ſubjects, of different ſtations, and ages, and without any diſtinction of ſex,—contrary to the ſtanding Indian laws of blood.

The Britiſh lion at laſt however triumphed, and forced the French themſelves to ſue for that friendly intercourſe and protection, which their former catechiſm taught the Indians to hate, and fly from, as dangerous to their univerſal happineſs.

When I have reaſoned with ſome of the old headmen, againſt their barbarous cuſtom of killing defenceleſs innocent perſons, who neither could nor would oppoſe them in battle, but begged that they might only live to be their ſlaves, they told me that formerly they never waged war, but in revenge of blood; and that in ſuch caſes, they always devoted the guilty to be burnt alive when they were purifying themſelves at home, to obtain victory over their enemies. But otherwiſe they treated the vanquiſhed with the greateſt clemency, and adopted them in the room of their relations, who had either died a natural death, or had before been ſufficiently revenged, though killed by the enemy.

The Iſraelites thus often devoted their captives to death, without any diſtinction of age or ſex,—as when they took Jericho, they ſaved only merciful Rahab and her family;—after they had plundered the Midianites of their riches, they put men women and children to death, dividing among themſelves a few virgins and the plunder;—with other inſtances that might be quoted. The Indian Americans, beyond all the preſent race of Adam, are actuated by this bloody war-cuſtom of the Iſraelites; they put their captives to various lingering torments, with the ſame unconcern as the Levite, when he cut up his beloved concubine into eleven portions, and ſent them to the eleven tribes, to excite them to revenge the affront, the Benjamites had given him. When equal blood has not been ſhed to quench the crying blood of their relations, and give reſt to their ghoſts, according to their credenda, while they are ſanctifying themſelves for war, they always allot their captives either to be killed or put to the fiery torture: and they who are thus devoted, cannot by any means be ſaved, though they reſembled an angel in beauty and virtue.

Formerly, the Indians defeated a great body of the French, who at two different times came to invade their country. They put to the fiery torture a conſiderable number of them; and two in particular, whom they imagined to have carried the French ark againſt them. The Engliſh traders ſolicited with the moſt earneſt entreaties, in favour of the unfortunate captives; but they averred, that as it was not our buſineſs to intercede in behalf of a deceitful enemy who came to ſhed blood, unleſs we were reſolved to ſhare their deſerved fate, ſo was it entirely out of the reach of goods, though piled as high as the ſkies, to redeem them,—

becauſe they were not only the chief ſupport of the French army, in ſpoiling ſo many of their warriors by the power of their ugly ark, before they conquered them; but were delivered over to the fire, before they entered into battle.

When I was on my way to the Chikkaſah, at the Okchai, in the year 1745, the conduct of the Muſkohge Indians was exactly the ſame with regard to a Cheerake ſtripling, whoſe father was a white man, and mother an half-breed,—regardleſs of the preſſing entreaties and very high offers of the Engliſh traders, they burned him in their uſual manner. This ſeems to be copied from that law which expreſly forbad the redeeming any devoted perſons, and ordered that they ſhould be ſurely put to death, Lev. xxvii. 29. This precept had evidently a reference to the law of retaliation.—Saul in a ſuperſtitious and angry mood, wanted to have murdered or ſacrificed to God his favourite ſon Jonathan, becauſe when he was fainting he taſted ſome honey which caſually fell in his way, juſt after he had performed a prodigy of martial feats in behalf of Iſrael: but the gratitude, and reaſon of the people, prevented him from perpetrating that horrid murder. If devoting to death was of divine extraction, or if God delighted in human ſacrifices, the people would have been criminal for daring to oppoſe the divine law,—which was not the caſe. Such a law if taken in an extenſive and literal ſenſe, is contrary to all natural reaſon and religion, and conſequently in a ſtrict ſenſe, could not be enjoined by a benevolent and merciful God; who commands us to do juſtice and ſhew mercy to the very beaſts; not to muzzle the ox while he is treading out the grain; nor to inſnare the bird when performing her parental offices. "Are ye not of more value than many ſparrows?"

The Indians uſe no ſtated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the ſame thing to the unfortunate victims, what form their butcherers uſe. They are generally ſacrificed before their conquerors ſet off for war with their ark and ſuppoſed holy things. And ſometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occaſioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkaſah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muſkohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who ſettled between the *Ooe-Aſa* and *Kooſah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the Engliſh to death for the ſpace of ſix years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendſhip as formerly. If the Engliſh had at that time executed their own law againſt them, and demanded equal blood from the Cheeràke, and ſtopt all trade with them before they dipt themſelves too deep in blood, they would ſoon have had a firm peace with all the Indian nations. This is the only way of treating them now, for when they have not the fear of offending, they will ſhed innocent blood, and proceed in the end to lay all reſtraint aſide.

The late conduct of the Chikkaſah war-council, in condemning two pretended friends to death, who came with a view of ſhedding blood; ſhews their knowledge of that equal law of divine appointment to the Jews, "he ſhall be dealt with exactly as he intended to do to his neighbour."

It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to puniſh them when they tranſgreſs. Anno 1766, I ſaw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office), correct ſeveral young perſons — ſome for ſuppoſed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a luſty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and cuſtoms, particularly, becauſe he lived nearer than any of the reſt to an opulent and helpleſs German, by whom they ſuppoſed he might have been corrupted. He baſtinadoed the young ſinner ſeverely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, compoſed of plaited ſilk graſs, and the fibres of the button ſnake-root ſtalks, tapering to the point, which was ſecured with a knot. He reaſoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakſe Kanèha-He*, literally, "you are as one who is wicked, and almoſt loſt *." The grey-hair'd corrector ſaid, he treated him in that manner according to ancient cuſtom, through an effect of love, to induce him to ſhun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illuſtrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young ſinner had received his ſuppoſed due, he went off ſeemingly well pleaſed.

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* As *Chin-Kanehàh* ſignifies. "you have loſt," and *Che-Kanehah*, "you are loſt," it ſeems to point at the method the Hebrews uſed in correcting their criminals in Canaan, and to imply a ſimilarity of manners. The word they uſe to expreſs "forgetfulneſs," looks the very ſame way, *Iſh Al Kanehah*, "you forget," meaning that *Iſh* and *Canaan* are forgotten by *Ale*.

This Indian correction leſſens gradually in its ſeverity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechiſing the little ones, he ſaid *Che Hakſinna*, "do not become vicious." And when they wept, he ſaid *Che-Abela Awa*, "I ſhall not kill you," or "I ſhall not put you into the ſtate of bleeding *Abéle**."

Like the preſent Jews, their old men are tenacious of their ancient rites and cuſtoms; imagining them to be the ſure channel through which all temporal good things flow to them, and by which the oppoſite evils are averted. No wonder therefore, that they ſtill retain a multiplicity of Hebrew words, which were repeated often with great reverence in the temple; and adhere to many of their ancient rules and methods of puniſhment.

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* The Indians uſe the word *Hakſe*, to convey the idea of a perſon's being criminal in any thing whatſoever. If they mention not the particular crime, they add, *Hakſet Kanehah*, pointing as it were to thoſe who were puniſhed in Canaan. Such unfortunate perſons as are mad, deaf, dumb or blind, are called by no other name than *Hakſe*. In like manner *Kallakſe* ſignifies "contemptible, unſteady, light, or eaſily thrown aſide,"—it is a diminutive of קלל, of the ſame meaning. And they ſay ſuch an one is *Kallaks'-Iſhto*, "execrated, or accurſed to God," becauſe found light in the divine balance. As the American Aborigines uſed no weights, the parity of language here with the Hebrew, ſeems to aſſure us, they originally derived this method of expreſſion from the Iſraelites, who took the ſame idea from the poiſe of a balance, which divine writ frequently mentions. Job, chap. xxxi, deſcribes juſtice with a pair of ſcales, "Let me be weighed in an even balance, that I may know my perfection." And they call weighing, or giving a preference, *Tekále*, according to the ſame figure of ſpeech: and it agrees both in expreſſion and meaning, with the Chaldean *Tekel*, if written with Hebrew characters, as in that extraordinary appearance on the wall of the Babyloniſh monarch, interpreted by the prophet Daniel. When they prefer one perſon and would leſſen another, they ſay *Eeàpa Wéhke Tekále*, "this one weighs heavy," and *Eeàko Kallakſe*, or *Kall'aks'ooſhe Tekále*, "that one weighs light, very light." When any of their people are killed on any of the hunting paths, they frequently ſay, *Heenna tungga Tannip Tekále*, "right on the path, he was weighed for the enemy, or the oppoſite party," for *Tannip* is the only word they have to expreſs the words *enemy* and the *oppoſite*; as *Ook'heenna Tannip*, "the oppoſite ſide of the water path:" hence it is probable, they borrowed that notable Aſſyrian expreſſion while in their ſuppoſed captivity, brought it with them to America, and introduced it into their language, to commemorate ſo ſurpriſing an event.

ARGUMENT XV.

The Iſraelites had Cities of Refuge, or places of ſafety, for thoſe who killed a perſon unawares, and without deſign; to ſhelter them from the blood-thirſty relations of the deceaſed, or the revenger of blood, who always purſued or watched the unfortunate perſon, like a ravenous wolf: but after the death of the high-prieſt the man-ſlayer could ſafely return home, and nobody durſt moleſt him.

According to the ſame particular divine law of mercy, each of theſe Indian nations have either a houſe or town of refuge, which is a ſure aſylum to protect a man-ſlayer, or the unfortunate captive, if they can once enter into it. The Cheerake, though now exceedingly corrupt, ſtill obſerve that law ſo inviolably, as to allow their beloved town the privilege of protecting a wilful murtherer: but they ſeldom allow him to return home afterwards in ſafety—they will revenge blood for blood, unleſs in ſome very particular caſe when the eldeſt can redeem. However, if he ſhould accept of the price of blood to wipe away its ſtains, and dry up the tears of the reſt of the neareſt kindred of the deceaſed, it is generally productive of future ills; either when they are drinking ſpirituous liquors, or dancing their enthuſiaſtic war dances, a tomohawk is likely to be ſunk into the head of ſome of his relations.

Formerly, when one of the Cheerake murdered an Engliſh trader he immediately ran off for the town of refuge; but as ſoon as he got in view of it, the inhabitants diſcovered him by the cloſe purſuit of the ſhrill war-whoo-whoop; and for fear of irritating the Engliſh, they inſtantly anſwered the war cry, ran to arms, intercepted, and drove him off into Tennâſe river (where he eſcaped, though mortally wounded) leſt he ſhould have entered the reputed holy ground, and thus it had been ſtained with the blood of their friend; or he had obtained ſanctuary to the danger of the community, and the foreign contempt of their ſacred altars.

This town of refuge called *Choate*, is ſituated on a large ſtream of the Miſſiſippi, five miles above the late unfortunate *Fort-Loudon*,—where ſome years ago, a brave Engliſhman was protected after killing an Indian warrior in defence of his property. The gentleman told me, that as his trading houſe was near to that town of refuge, he had reſolved with himſelf, after ſome months ſtay in it, to return home; but the head-men aſſured him, that though he was then ſafe, it would prove fatal if he removed thence; ſo he continued in his aſylum ſtill longer, till the affair was by time more obliterated, and he had wiped off all their tears with various preſents. In the upper or moſt weſtern part of the country of the Muſkóhge, there was an old beloved town, now reduced to a ſmall ruinous village, called *Kooſah*, which is ſtill a place of ſafety for thoſe who kill undeſignedly. It ſtands on commanding ground, over-looking a bold river, which after running about forty leagues, ſweeps cloſe by the late miſchievous French garriſon *Alebámah*, and down to *Mobille-Sound*, 200 leagues diſtance, and ſo into the gulph of Florida.

In almoſt every Indian nation, there are ſeveral *peaceable towns*, which are called "old-beloved," "ancient, holy, or white towns *;" they ſeem to have been formerly "towns of refuge," for it is not in the memory of their oldeſt people, that ever human blood was ſhed in them; although they often force perſons from thence, and put them to death elſewhere.

ARGUMENT XVI.

Before the Indians go to WAR, they have many preparatory ceremonies of *purification* and *faſting*, like what is recorded of the Iſraelites.

In the firſt commencement of a war, a party of the injured tribe turns out firſt, to revenge the innocent crying blood of their own bone and fleſh, as they term it. When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times round his dark winter-houſe, contrary to the courſe of the ſun, ſounding the war-whoop, ſinging the war-ſong, and beating the drum.

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* WHITE is their fixt emblem of peace, friendſhip, happineſs, proſperity, purity, holineſs, &c. as with the Iſraelites.

Then he ſpeaks to the liſtening crowd with very rapid language, ſhort pauſes, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinſmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerneſs to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the baſe contemptible enemy. Then he ſtrongly perſuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he aſſures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, ſo they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the neceſſity of complying with the old religious cuſtoms of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, thoſe hindrances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and ſanctify themſelves for ſucceſs againſt the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

By his eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirſt of revenge, and intenſe love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happineſs depend, and which they conſtantly inſtil into the minds of their youth—a number ſoon join him in his winter-houſe, where they live ſeparate from all others, and purify themſelves for the ſpace of three days and nights, excluſive of the firſt broken day. In each of thoſe days they obſerve a ſtrict faſt till ſun-ſet, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, leſt unuſual hunger ſhould tempt them to violate it, to the ſuppoſed danger of all their lives in war, by deſtroying the power of their purifying beloved phyſic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying phyſic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-ſnake-root, which as hath been before obſerved, they apply only to religious purpoſes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the ſaid root—and in like manner the leader applies aſperſions, or ſprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are ſuch ſtrict obſervers of the law of purification, and think it ſo eſſential in obtaining health and ſucceſs in war, as not to allow the beſt beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to the religious duty of being ſanctified

fied for war; much leſs to aſſociate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the ſame war deſign;—they oblige him to walk and encamp ſeparate by himſelf, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their uſual time and method, with the conſecrated things of the ark. With the Hebrews, the ark of *Berith*, "the purifier," was a ſmall wooden cheſt, of three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height. It contained the golden pot that had manna in it, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the law. The INDIAN ARK is of a very ſimple conſtruction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood ſecurely faſtened together in the form of a ſquare. The middle of three of the ſides extend a little out, but one ſide is flat, for the conveniency of the perſon's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably cloſe with hiccory-ſplinters; it is about half the dimenſions of the divine Jewiſh ark, and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains ſeveral conſecrated veſſels, made by beloved ſuperannuated women, and of ſuch various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given ſignificant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the reſt of the company, that the firſt may be fit to act in the religious office of a prieſt of war, and the other to carry the awful ſacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetiſſu*, or "beloved waiter," feeds each of the warriors by an exact ſtated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, leſt by intemperance they ſhould ſpoil the ſuppoſed communicative power of their holy things, and occaſion fatal diſaſters to the war camp.

The ark, mercy-ſeat, and cherubim, were the very eſſence of the levitical law, and often called "the teſtimonies of *Yohewah*." The ark of the temple was termed his throne, and David calls it his foot-ſtool. In ſpeaking of the Indian places of refuge for the unfortunate, I obſerved, that if a captive taken by the reputed power of the beloved things of the ark, ſhould be able to make his eſcape into one of theſe towns,—or even into the winter-houſe of the Archi-magus, he is delivered from the fiery torture, otherwiſe inevitable. This when joined to the reſt of the faint images of the Moſaic cuſtoms they ſtill retain, ſeems to point at the mercy-ſeat in the ſanctuary. It is alſo highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor ſit on the bare earth while they are carrying it againſt the enemy. On hilly ground where ſtones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon ſhort logs, always reſting themſelves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often ſaw the woods full of ſuch religious war-reliques. The former is a ſtrong imitation of the pedeſtal, on which the Jewiſh ark was placed, a ſtone riſing three fingers breadth above the floor. And when we conſider—in what a ſurpriſing manner the Indians copy after the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, and their ſtrict purity in their war camps; that *Opae*, "the leader," obliges all during the firſt campaign they make with the beloved ark, to ſtand, every day they lie by, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet—and after a fatiguing day's march, and ſcanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-ſnake-root very plentifully, in order to be purified—that they have alſo as ſtrong a faith of the power and holineſs of their ark, as ever the Iſraelites retained of their's, aſcribing the ſuperior ſucceſs of the party, to their ſtricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole—we have ſtrong reaſon to conclude their origin is Hebrew. From the Jewiſh ark of the tabernacle and the temple, the ancient heathens derived their arks, their *ciſtæ* or religious cheſts, their Teraphim or Dii Lares, and their tabernacles and temples. But their modes and objects of worſhip, differed very widely from thoſe of the Americans.

The Indian ark is deemed ſo ſacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own ſanctified warriors, or the ſpoiling enemy, that they durſt not touch it upon any account[*]. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil.

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[*] A gentleman who was at the Ohio, in the year 1756, aſſured me he ſaw a ſtranger there very importunate to view the inſide of the Cheerake ark, which was covered with a dreſt deerſkin, and placed on a couple of ſhort blocks. An Indian centinel watched it, armed with a hiccory bow, and braſs-pointed barbed arrows, and he was faithful to his truſt; for finding the ſtranger obtruding to pollute the ſuppoſed ſacred vehicle, he drew an arrow to the head, and would have ſhot him through the body, had he not ſuddenly withdrawn; the interpreter, when aſked by the gentleman what it contained, told him there was nothing in it but a bundle of conjuring traps. This ſhews what conjurers our common interpreters are, and how much the learned world have really profited by their informations. The Indians have an old tradition,

Nor would the moſt inveterate enemy touch it in the woods for the very ſame reaſon; which is agreeable to the religious opinion and cuſtoms of the Hebrews, reſpecting the ſacredneſs of their ark, witneſs what befel Uzzah, for touching it, though with a religious view, and the Philiſtines for carrying it away, ſo that they ſoon thought proper to return it, with preſents.

The leader virtually acts the part of a prieſt of war, *pro tempore*, in imitation of the Iſraelites fighting under the divine military banner. If they obtain the victory, and get ſome of the enemies ſcalps, they ſanctify themſelves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they obſerved before they ſet off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loſs, aſcribing it to the vicious conduct of ſome of the followers of the beloved ark. What bluſhes ſhould this ſavage virtue raiſe in the faces of nominal chriſtians, who ridicule the unerring divine wiſdom, for the effects of their own imprudent or vicious conduct. May they learn from the rude uncivilized Americans, that vice neceſſarily brings evil—and virtue, happineſs.

The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiouſly abſtain from every kind of intercourſe even with their own wives, for the ſpace of three days and nights before they go to war, and ſo after they return home, becauſe they are to ſanctify themſelves. This religious war cuſtom, eſpecially in ſo ſavage a generation, ſeems to be derived from the Hebrews, who thus ſanctified themſelves, to gain the divine protection, and victory over their common enemies: as in the precept of Moſes to the war camp when he aſcended Mount Sinai; and in Joſhua's prohibition to the Iſraelites [*]; and in the caſe of Uriah. The warriors conſider themſelves as devoted to God apart from the reſt of the

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tradition, that when they left their own native land, they brought with them a *ſanctified rod* by order of an oracle, which they fixed every night in the ground; and were to remove from place to place on the continent towards the ſun-riſing, till it budded in one night's time; that they obeyed the ſacred mandate, and the miracle took place after they arrived to this ſide of the Miſſiſippi, on the preſent land they poſſeſs. This, they ſay, was the ſole cauſe of their ſettling here—of fighting ſo firmly for their reputed holy land and holy things—and that they may be buried with their beloved fore-fathers. I have ſeen other Indians who pretend to the like miraculous direction, and I think it plainly to refer to Aaron's rod, which was a branch of an almond-tree, and that budded and bloſſomed in one night.

[*] Joſhua commanded the Iſraelites the night before they marched, to ſanctify themſelves by waſhing their clothes, avoiding all impurities, and abſtaining from matrimonial intercourſe.

people, while they are at war accompanying the ſacred ark with the ſuppoſed holy things it contains.

The French Indians are ſaid not to have deflowered any of our young women they captivated, while at war with us; and unleſs the black tribe, the French Canadian prieſts, corrupted their traditions, they would think ſuch actions defiling, and what muſt bring fatal conſequences on their own heads. We have an atteſted narrative of an Engliſh priſoner, who made his eſcape from the Shawanoh Indians, which was printed at Philadelphia, anno 1757, by which we were aſſured, that even that blood-thirſty villain, Capt. Jacob, did not attempt the virtue of his female captives, leſt (as he told one of them) it ſhould offend the Indian's God; though at the ſame time his pleaſures heightened in proportion to the ſhrieks and groans of our people of different ages and both ſexes, while they were under his tortures.

Although the Choktah are libidinous, and loſe their cuſtoms apace, yet I have known them to take ſeveral female priſoners without offering the leaſt violence to their virtue, till the time of purgation was expired;—then ſome of them forced their captives, notwithſtanding their preſſing entreaties and tears. As the aforeſaid Shawanoh renegado profeſſed himſelf ſo obſervant of this law of purity, ſo the other northern nations of Indians, who are free from adulteration by their far-diſtance from foreigners, do not neglect ſo great a duty: and it is highly probable, notwithſtanding the ſilence of our writers, that as purity was ſtrictly obſerved by the Hebrews in the temple, field and wilderneſs, the religious rites and cuſtoms of the northern Indians, differ no farther from thoſe of the nations near our ſouthern ſettlements than reaſon will admit, allowing for their diſtant ſituation from Peru and Mexico, whence they ſeem to have travelled.

When they return home victorious over the enemy, they ſing the triumphal ſong to Yo-He-Wah, aſcribing the victory to him, according to a religious cuſtom of the Iſraelites, who were commanded always to attribute their ſucceſs in war to Jehovah, and not to their ſwords and arrows.

In the year 1765, when the Chikkaſah returned with two French ſcalps, from the Illinois, (while the Britiſh troops were on the Miſſiſippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading houſe was near the Chikkaſah leader, I had a good opportunity of obſerving his conduct, as far as it was expoſed to public view.

Within a day's march of home, he ſent a runner a-head with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter houſe to be ſwept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient cuſtom, when the out-ſtanding party ſet off for war, the women are ſo afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they ſweep the houſe and earth quite clean, place the ſweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undiſturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful meſſenger to remove it. He likewiſe orders them to carry out every utenſil which the women had uſed during his abſence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with ſwan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the ſcalps on a branch of the ever-green pine *, ſinging the awful death ſong, with a ſolemn ſtriking air, and ſometimes Yo He Wah; now and then ſounding the ſhrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop.* When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot houſe, contrary to the courſe of the ſun, ſinging the monoſyllable YO, for about the ſpace of five ſeconds on a tenor key; again, He He ſhort, on a baſs key; then Wah Wah, gutturally on the treble, very ſhrill, but not ſo ſhort as the baſs note. In this manner they repeated thoſe ſacred notes, YO, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finiſhing the circle, a ſtrong emblem of the eternity of Him, "who is, was, and is to come," to whom they ſung their triumphal ſong, aſcribing the victory over their enemies to his ſtrong arm, inſtead of their own, according to the uſage of the Iſraelites by divine appointment. The duplication of the middle and laſt ſyllables of the four-lettered eſſential name of the deity, and the change of the key from their eſtabliſhed method of invoking YO He Wah, when they are drinking their bitter drink, (the *Cuſſeena*) in their temples, where they always ſpend a long breath on each of the two firſt ſyllables of that awful divine ſong, ſeems deſigned to prevent a prophanation.

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* As the Indians carry their enemies ſcalps on ſmall branches of ever-green pine, and wave the martial trophies on a pine-branch before YO He Wah; I cannot help thinking that the pine was the emblematical tree ſo often mentioned in divine writ, by the plural name, *Shittim*; eſpecially as the mountain Cedar, comparatively ſpeaking, is low and does not ſeem to anſwer the deſcription of the inſpired writers; beſides that כפר *Chepher* is figuratively applied to the mercy-ſeat, ſignifying, literally, a ſcreen, or cover againſt ſtorms; which was pitched over with the gum of the pine-tree.

The leader's *Hetiſſu*, "or waiter," placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, oppoſite to the door of the circular hot-houſe, in the middle of which the fire-place ſtood; and on theſe blocks he reſted the ſuppoſed ſacred ark, ſo that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were ſilent a conſiderable time. At length, the chieftain bade them ſit down, and then enquired whether his houſe was prepared for the ſolemn occaſion, according to his order the day before: being anſwered in the affirmative, they ſoon roſe up, ſounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and ſung three times, YO, HE HE, WAH WAH, in the manner already deſcribed. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-houſe, where they continued, excluſive of the firſt broken day, three days and nights apart from the reſt of the people, purifying themſelves with warm lotions, and aſperſions of the emblematical button-ſnake-root, without any other ſubſiſtence between the riſing and the ſetting of the ſun.

During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and dreſt themſelves in their fineſt, ſtood in two rows, one on each ſide of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, ſinging HA HA, HA HE, with a ſoft ſhrill voice and a ſolemn moving air for more than a minute, and then pauſed about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal ſong. While they ſung, they gave their legs a ſmall motion, by the ſtrong working of their muſcles, without ſeeming to bend their joints. When they had no occaſion to retire, they have ſtood erect in the ſame place, a long froſty night; and except when ſinging, obſerved a moſt profound ſilence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourſe with their huſbands; and they avoid ſeveral other ſuppoſed pollutions, as not to eat or touch ſalt, and the like.

The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raiſing the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the ſmall boughs of pine with the ſcalps fixt to them, ſinging as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they ſtrictly obſerved the whole time they were purifying themſelves, and ſinging the ſong of ſafety, and victory, to the goodneſs and power of the divine eſſence. When the time of their purification and thankſgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themſelves ſeparately, returned in the ſame manner, and anointed again, according to their uſual cuſtom.

They joined ſoon after in a ſolemn proceſſion, to fix the ſcalps on the tops of the houſes of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went firſt—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their riſing merit; and the ſongſtreſſes brought up the rear. In this order they went round the leader's winter-houſe from the eaſt to the north, the men ſtriking up the death whoop, and ſinging the death ſong; and then YO, HE HE, WAH WAH, as deſcribed; the women alſo warbling HA HA, HA HE, ſo that one might have ſaid according to the ſacred text, " great was the company of the women who ſung the ſong of triumph." * Then they fixed on the top of the houſe, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a ſmall piece of one of the ſcalps faſtened to it: and this order they obſerved from houſe to houſe, till in their opinion they had appeaſed the ghoſts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal ſolemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themſelves. I afterward aſked the reaſon of this—they replied they were *Iſhtohoollo*. This ſeems to be ſo plain a copy of the old Jewiſh cuſtoms, I am ſatisfied the reader will eaſily diſcern the analogy, without any farther obſervations.

I cannot however conclude this argument, without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendſhip. They firſt ſmoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *Cuſſeena*, uſing ſuch invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles-tails,—concluding with a dance. The perſons viſited, appoint half a dozen of their moſt active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the ſwan-feather-cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with ſwan-down; then approaching the chief repreſentative of the ſtrangers, who by way of honour, and ſtrong aſſurance of friendſhip, is ſeated on the central white or holy ſeat, "the beloved cabbin" (which is about nine feet long and ſeven feet broad), they wave the eagles tails backward and forward over his head *. Immediately they begin the ſolemn ſong with an awful air; and preſently they dance in a bowing poſture; then they raiſe themſelves ſo erect, that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles tails with their right hand toward heaven, ſometimes with a ſlow, at others with a quick motion; at the ſame time they touch their breaſt with their ſmall callabaſh and pebbles faſtened to a ſtick of about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles tails: during the dance, they repeat the uſual divine notes, YO, &c. and wave the eagles tails now and then over the ſtranger's head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are ſo ſurpriſingly expert in their ſuppoſed religious office, and obſerve time ſo exactly, with their particular geſtures and notes, that there is not the leaſt diſcernible diſcord. If the Hebrews danced this way, (as there is ſtrong preſumptive proof) they had very ſweating work, for every joint, artery, and nerve, is ſtretched to the higheſt pitch of exertion; and this may account for Saul's daughter Michal, chiding David for falling in with the common dancers.

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* Laſt year I heard the Choktah women, in thoſe towns which lie next to New Orleans, ſing a regular anthem and dirge, in the duſk of the evening, while their kinſmen were gone to war againſt the Muſkohge.

The Indians cannot ſhew greater honour to the greateſt potentate on earth, than to place him in the white ſeat—invoke YO HE WAH, while

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* When they are diſaffected, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party againſt whom they have hoſtile views, to approach the white ſeat; as their holy men, and holy places, are conſidered firmly bound to keep good faith, and give ſure refuge. Indeed in the year 1750, after having narrowly eſcaped with my life from the Cheerake lower towns, I met two worthy gentlemen at the ſettlement of Ninety-ſix, who were going to them. I earneſtly diſſuaded them againſt purſuing their journey, but without effect: when they arrived at the middle Cheerake towns, the old beloved men and war chieftains invited them and twenty of the traders to go in the evening to their town-houſe, to ſit on their white beloved ſeat, partake of their feaſt, and ſmoke together with kindly hearts, according to their old friendly cuſtom. The gentlemen happily rejected the invitation, and boldly told them they were appriſed of their treacherous intentions: they braved a little, to ſurpriſe and intimidate the Indians, and then mounted, directed their courſe toward the place where a treacherous ambuſcade had been laid for them—but they ſoon ſilently took another courſe, and paſſing through an unſuſpected difficult marſh, and almoſt pathleſs woods, by the dawn of the morning they reached the Georgia ſide of Savannah river, which was about 80 miles, where a body of the Muſkohge chanced to be preparing for war againſt the treacherous Cheerake. Theſe protected them from their purſuers, and the gentlemen arrived ſafe at Auguſta, the upper barrier and Indian mart of Georgia.

he is drinking the Cuſſeena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendſhip with each other, they are treated with the ſame ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their gueſts, and pledge themſelves to keep good faith with them, they ſometimes ſing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the ſky. Some years ago, I ſaw the Kooaſahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobille river) perform this rite with much ſolemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and geſtures, to enable them to ſhew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witneſs of their faithful vows and conduct. This cuſtom is plainly not derived from the old Scythians, or any other part of the heathen world. Their forms and uſages when they made peace, or pledged faith, and contracted friendſhip with each other, were widely different: but to thoſe of the Jews it hath the neareſt reſemblance.

ARGUMENT XVII.

The Indian origin and deſcent may alſo be in ſome meaſure diſcerned by their taſte for, and kind of ORNAMENTS.

The Iſraelites were fond of wearing beads and other ornaments, even as early as the patriarchal age, and the taſte increaſed to ſuch a degree that it became criminal, and was ſharply reprehended by the prophets, particularly Iſaiah. The Iſraelitiſh women wore rich garters about their legs, and againſt the rules of modeſty, they ſhortened their under garments, in order to ſhew how their legs and feet were decorated; Iſaiah, chap. iii. 18. "The Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet," which loaded them ſo heavy that they could ſcarcely walk; and ver. 19, 20, 21. "The chains and the bracelets — The ornaments of the legs—and the ear-rings—The rings and noſe jewels." In reſemblance to theſe cuſtoms, the Indian females continually wear a beaded ſtring round their legs, made of buffalo-hair, which is a ſpecies of coarſe wool; and they reckon it a great ornament, as well as a preſervative againſt miſcarriages, hard labour, and other evils. They wear alſo a heap of land tortoiſe-ſhells with pebbles or beads in them, faſtened to pieces of deer-ſkins, which they tie to the outſide of their legs, when they mix with the men in their religious dances.

The Indian nations are agreed in the cuſtom of thus adorning themſelves with beads of various ſizes and colours; ſometimes wrought in garters, ſaſhes, necklaces, and in ſtrings round their wriſts; and ſo from the crown of their heads ſometimes to the cartilage of the noſe. And they doat on them ſo much, as to make them their current money in all payments to this day.

Before we ſupplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-ſhell, by rubbing them on hard ſtones, and ſo they form them according to their liking. With theſe they bought and ſold at a ſtated current rate, without the leaſt variation for circumſtances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loſs or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reaſons ever ſo ſtrong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-ſkins was the price of a large conch-ſhell bead, about the length and thickneſs of a man's fore-finger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—ſo greatly they valued them. Their beads bear a very near reſemblance to ivory, which was highly eſteemed by the Hebrews.

The New-England writers aſſure us, that the Naraganſat Indians paid to the colony of Maſſachuſetts, two hundred fathoms of wampum, only in part of a debt; and at another payment one-hundred fathoms: which ſhews the Indian cuſtom of wearing beads has prevailed far north on this continent, and before the firſt ſettling of our colonies.

According to the oriental cuſtom, they wear ear-rings and finger-rings in abundance. Tradition ſays, they followed the like cuſtom before they became acquainted with the Engliſh.

The men and women in old times uſed ſuch coarſe diamonds, as their own hilly country produced, when each had a bit of ſtone faſtened with a deer's ſinew to the tying of their hair, their noſe, ears, and maccaſeenes: but from the time we ſupplied them with our European ornaments, they have uſed braſs and ſilver ear-rings, and finger-rings; the young warriors now frequently faſten bell-buttons, or pieces of tinkling braſs to their maccaſeenes, and to the outſide of their boots, inſtead of the old turky-cock-ſpurs which they formerly uſed. Both ſexes eſteem the above things, as very great ornaments of dreſs, and commonly load the parts with each ſort, in proportion to their ability of purchaſing them: it is a common trading rule with us, to judge of the value of an Indian's effects, by the weight of his fingers, wriſts, ears, crown of his head, boots, and maccaſeenes—by the quantity of red paint daubed on his face, and by the ſhirt about the collar, ſhoulders, and back, ſhould he have one.

Although the ſame things are commonly alike uſed or diſuſed, by males and females; yet they diſtinguiſh their ſexes in as exact a manner as any civilized nation. The women bore ſmall holes in the lobe of their ears for their rings, but the young heroes cut a hole round almoſt the extremity of both their ears, which till healed, they ſtretch out with a large tuft of buffalo's wool mixt with bear's oil: then they twiſt as much ſmall wire round as will keep them extended in that hideous form. This cuſtom however is wearing off apace. They formerly wore *noſe-rings*, or jewels, both in the northern and ſouthern regions of America, according to a ſimilar cuſtom of the Jews and eaſterns; and in ſome places they ſtill obſerve it. At preſent, they hang a piece of battered ſilver or pewter, or a large bead to the noſtril, like the European method of treating ſwine, to prevent them from rooting the earth; this, as well as the reſt of their cuſtoms, is a true picture and good copy of their ſuppoſed early progenitors.

I have been among the Indians at a drinking match, when ſeveral of their beaus have been humbled as low as death, for the great loſs of their big ears. Being ſo widely extended, it is as eaſy for a perſon to take hold of, and pull them off, as to remove a couple of ſmall hoops were they hung within reach; but if the ear after the pull, ſtick to their head by one end, when they get ſober, they pare and ſew it together with a needle and deer's ſinews, after ſweating him in a ſtove. Thus the diſconſolate warrior recovers his former cheerfulneſs, and hath a laſting caution of not putting his ears a ſecond time in danger with bad company:

however,

however, it is not deemed a ſcandal to loſe their ears by any accident, becauſe they became ſlender and brittle, by their virtuous compliance with that favourite cuſtom of their anceſtors.

ARGUMENT XVIII.

The Indian manner of Curing their Sick, is very ſimilar to that of the Jews. They always invoke YO He Wah, a conſiderable ſpace of time before they apply any medicines, let the caſe require ever ſo ſpeedy an application. The more deſperately ill their patients are, the more earneſtly they invoke the deity on the ſad occaſion. Like the Hebrews, they firmly believe that diſeaſes and wounds are occaſioned by the holy fire, or divine anger, in proportion to ſome violation of the old beloved ſpeech. The Jews had but ſmall ſkill in phyſic.—They called a phyſician "a binder of wounds," for he chiefly poured oil into the wounds and bound them up. They were no great friends to this kind of learning and ſcience; and their Talmud has this proverb, "the beſt phyſicians go to hell." King Aſa was reproved for having applied to phyſicians, for his diſeaſe in his feet. The little uſe they made of the art of medicine, eſpecially for internal maladies; and their perſuaſion that diſtempers were either the immediate effects of God's anger, or cauſed by evil ſpirits, led them to apply themſelves to the prophets, or or to diviners, magicians and enchanters. Hezekiah's boil was cured by Iſaiah—Benhadad king of Syria, and Naaman the Syrian applied to the prophet Eliſha, and Ahaziah king of Iſrael ſent to conſult Baal-zebub. The Indians deem the curing their ſick or wounded a very religious duty; and it is chiefly performed by their ſuppoſed prophets, and magi, becauſe they believe they are inſpired with a great portion of the divine fire. On theſe occaſions they ſing YO YO, on a low baſs key for two or three minutes very rapidly; in like manner, He He, and Wa Wa. Then they tranſpoſe and accent thoſe ſacred notes with great vehemence, and ſupplicating fervor, rattling all the while a calabaſh with ſmall pebble-ſtones, in imitation of the old Jewiſh rattles, to make a greater ſound, and as it were move the deity to co-operate with their ſimple means and finiſh the cure *.

When the Indian phyſicians viſit their ſuppoſed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending poſture, with their rattling calabaſh, preferring that ſort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent poſture of body, they run two or three times round the ſick perſon, contrary to the courſe of the ſun, invoking God as already expreſt. Then they invoke the raven, and mimic his croaking voice: Now this bird was an ill omen to the ancient heathens, as we may ſee by the prophet Iſaiah; ſo that common wiſdom, or ſelf-love, would not have directed them to ſuch a choice, if their traditions had repreſented it as a bad ſymbol. But they choſe it as an emblem of recovery, probably from its indefatigableneſs in flying to and fro when ſent out of the ark, till he

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* Formerly, an old Nachee warrior who was blind of one eye, and very dim-ſighted in the other, having heard of the ſurpriſing ſkill of the European ocuſiſts, fancied I could cure him. He frequently importuned me to perform that friendly office, which I as often declined. But he imagining all my excuſes were the effect of modeſty and caution, was the more importunate, and would take no denial. I was at laſt obliged to commence Indian oculiſt. I had juſt drank a glaſs of rum when he came to undergo the operation at the time appointed; he obſerving my glaſs, ſaid, it was beſt to defer it till the next day.—I told him, I drank ſo on purpoſe, for as the white people's phyſic and beloved ſongs were quite different from what the red people applied and ſung, it was uſual with our beſt phyſicians to drink a little, to heighten their ſpirits, and enable them to ſing with a ſtrong voice, and likewiſe to give their patients a little, to make their hearts weigh even within them; he conſented, and lay down as if he was dead, according to their uſual cuſtom. After a good many wild ceremonies, I ſung up *Sheela na Guira*, "will you drink wine?" Then I drank to my patient, which on my raiſing him up, he accepted: I gave him ſeveral drinks of grogg, both to divert myſelf, and purify the obtruding ſuppoſed ſinner. At laſt, I applied my materia medica, blowing a quill full of fine burnt allum and roman vitriol into his eye. Juſt as I was ready to repeat it, he bounded up out of his ſeemingly dead ſtate, jumped about, and ſaid, my ſongs and phyſic were not good. When I could be heard, I told him the Engliſh beloved ſongs and phyſic were much ſtronger than thoſe of the red people, and that when they did not immediately produce ſuch an effect as he found, it was a ſure ſign they were good for nothing, but as they were taking place, he would ſoon be well. He acquieſced becauſe of the ſoporific doſe I gave him. But ever after, he reckoned he had a very narrow chance of having his eye burnt out by *Loak Iſhtohoollo*, for drinking *Ooka Hoome*, "the bitter waters," and preſuming to get cured by an impure accurſed nothing, who lied, drank, ate hog's fleſh, and ſung *Tarooa Ookproo'sto*, "the devil's tune," or the ſong of the evil ones.

found dry ground to reſt on*. They alſo place a baſon of cold water with ſome pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fiſh, becauſe of its cold element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooóle*) they ſolicit him as he ſoars in the heavens, to bring down refreſhing things for their ſick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flaſh of lightning. They are ſo tedious on this ſubject, that it would be a taſk to repeat it: however, it may be needful to obſerve, that they chuſe the eagle becauſe of its ſuppoſed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious ſtrength, ſwiftneſs of wing, majeſtic ſtature, and loving its young ones ſo tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.

Joſephus tells us, that Solomon had a divine power conferred upon him, of driving evil ſpirits out of poſſeſſed perſons — that he invented ſeveral incantations by which diſeaſes were cured — and left behind him ſuch a ſure method of exorciſing, as the dæmons never returned again: and he aſſures us, the Jews followed the like cuſtom as late as his own time; and that he ſaw ſuch a cure performed by one Eleazar. They likewiſe imagined, that the liver of a fiſh would keep away evil ſpirits, as one of the apocryphal writers acquaints us †.

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* The ancients drew bad preſages from the ſituation, and croaking of ravens and crows. They looked on that place as unhappy, where either of them had croaked in the morning. Heſiod forbids to leave a houſe unfiniſhed, leſt a crow ſhould chance to come and croak when ſitting on it. And moſt of the illiterate peaſants in Europe are tinctured with the like ſuperſtition, pretending to draw ill omens from its voice.

† They imagined incenſe alſo to be a ſure means to baniſh the devil; though aſafœtida, or the devil's dung, might have been much better. On Cant. iv. 6. "I will get me to the hill of incenſe," the Chaldee paraphraſt ſays, that, while the houſe of Iſrael kept the art of their holy fore-fathers, both the morning and mid-day evil ſpirits fled away, becauſe the divine glory dwelt in the ſanctuary, which was built on Mount Moriah; and that all the devils fled when they ſmelled the effluvia of the fine incenſe that was there. They likewiſe believed that herbs and roots had a power to expel dæmons. And Joſephus tells us, that the root *Bara*, immediately drives out the devil. I ſuppoſe it had ſuch a phyſical power againſt fevers and agues, as the jeſuit's bark.

The church of Rome, in order to have powerful holy things, as well as the Jews, applies ſalt, ſpittle, holy-water, and conſecrated oil, to expel the devils from the credulous of their

own

In the Summer-ſeaſon of the year 1746, I chanced to ſee the Indians playing at a houſe of the former Miſſiſippi-Nachee, on one of their old ſacred muſical inſtruments. It pretty much reſembled the Negroe-Banger in ſhape, but far exceeded it in dimenſions; for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight ſtrings made out of the ſinews of a large buffalo. But they were ſo unſkilful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the inſtrument between his feet, and along ſide of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilſt a luſty fellow held the other; by ſweating labour they ſcraped out ſuch harſh jarring ſounds, as might have been reaſonably expected by a ſoft ear, to have been ſufficient to drive out the devil if he lay any where hid in the houſe. When I afterward aſked him the name, and the reaſon of ſuch a ſtrange method of diverſion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Iſhto Hoollo*, "a dance to, or before, the great holy one;" that it kept off evil ſpirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

He who danced to it, kept his place and poſture, in a very exact manner, without the leaſt perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muſcles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and diſcontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himſelf. This ſurpriſing cuſtom I have mentioned here, becauſe it was uſual among the Hebrews, for their prophets to become furious, and as it were beſide themſelves, when they were about to propheſy. Thus with regard to Saul, it ſeems that he became furious, and tortured his body by violent geſtures: and when Eliſha ſent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, one ſaid to him, wherefore cometh this mad fellow? The Chaldee paraphraſt, on 1 Sam. xviii. 10. concerning Saul's propheſying, paraphraſes it, cæpit furire, "he began to grow mad, &c."

When the Eaſt-Indian Fakirs are giving out their pretended propheciesof, they chuſe drums and trumpets, that by ſuch confuſed ſtriking ſounds,

own perſuaſion; and the oil alone is uſed as a viaticum, on account of its lubricous quality, to make them ſlippery, and thereby prevent the devil from laying hold, and pulling them down when they aſcend upward. They reckon that obſervance a moſt religious duty, and an infallible preſervative againſt the legions of evil ſpirits who watch in the ærial regions; and alſo neceſſary to gain celeſtial admiſſion for believers.

their ſenſes may be lulled aſleep or unſettled, which might otherwiſe render them uncapable of receiving the ſuppoſed divine inſpiration. And they endeavour to become thus poſſeſt before crowds of people with a furious rage, by many frantic and violent motions of body, and changes of poſture, till they have raiſed it to the higheſt pitch they are capable of, and then fall on the ground almoſt breathleſs; when they recover themſelves a little, they give out their prophecies, which are deemed oracular.

Lactantius and others tell us, that the Sibyls were poſſeſt of the like fury; and moſt part of the ancients believed they ought to become furious, the members of the body to ſhake, and the hairs of their head to ſtand an end before they could be divinely inſpired: which ſeems plainly to ſhew, that though the ancient heathens mimicked a great deal of the Moſaic law, yet theirs had but a faint glance on the Hebrew manner of conſulting Yohewah; whereas the Indian Americans invoke the true God, by his favourite eſſential name, in a bowing poſture, on every material occaſion, whether civil, martial, or religious, contrary to the uſage of all the old heathen world.

In the year 1765, an old phyſician, or prophet, almoſt drunk with ſpirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly viſit: his ſituation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite ſober. When he came to the door, he bowed himſelf half bent, with his arms extended north and ſouth, continuing ſo perhaps for the ſpace of a minute. Then raiſing himſelf erect, with his arms in the ſame poſition, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the ſouth-weſt toward the north, and ſung on a low baſs key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almoſt a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the ſame ſpace of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then tranſpoſed, and accented thoſe ſacred notes ſeveral different ways, in a moſt rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head conſiderably bent backward;—his ſong continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then open ſtood eaſt, his face of courſe looked toward the weſt; but whether the natives thus uſually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houſes have their doors toward the eaſt, had he uſed the like ſolemn invocations there, his face would have conſequently looked the ſame way, contrary to the uſage of the heathens. After his ſong, he ſtepped in: I ſaluted him, ſaying, "Are you come my beloved old friend?" he replied, *Arahre-O.* "I am come in the name of Oea." I told him, I was glad to ſee, that in this mad age, he ſtill retained the old Chikkaſah virtues. He ſaid, that as he came with a glad heart to ſee me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind ſervice, than to ſecure my houſe from the power of the evil ſpirits of the north, ſouth, and weſt,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the ſhape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to ſpoil people: "the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having uſed deſtructive charms." Becauſe a child was ſuddenly taken ill, and died, on the phyſician's falſe evidence, the father went to the poor helpleſs old woman who was ſitting innocent, and unſuſpecting, and ſunk his tomohawk into her head, without the leaſt fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards, *Iſhtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, "man-killers," and "ſpoilers of things ſacred." My prophetic friend deſired me to think myſelf ſecure from thoſe dangerous enemies of darkneſs, for (ſaid he) *Tarooa Iſhtohoollo-Antarooare*, "I have ſung the ſong of the great holy one." The Indians are ſo tenacious of concealing their religious myſteries, that I never before obſerved ſuch an invocation on the like occaſion — adjuring evil ſpirits, witches, &c. by the awful name of deity.

ARGUMENT XIX.

The Hebrews have at all times been very careful in the Burial of their dead—to be deprived of it was conſidered as one of the greateſt of evils. They made it a point of duty to perform the funeral obſequies of their friends—often embalmed the dead bodies of thoſe who were rich, and even buried treaſure in the tombs with their dead. Joſephus tells us, that in king David's ſepulchre, was buried ſuch a prodigious quantity of treaſures, that Hyrcanus the Maccabean, took three thouſand talents out of it, about thirteen hundred years after, to get rid of Antiochus then beſieging Jeruſalem. And their people of diſtinction, we are told, followed the like cuſtom of burying gold and ſilver with the dead. Thus it was an univerſal cuſtom with the ancient Peruvians, when the owner died to bury his effects with him, which the avaricious Spaniards perceiving, they robbed theſe ſtore-houſes of the dead of an immenſe quantity of treaſures. The modern Indians bury all their moveable riches, according to the cuſtom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, inſomuch, that the grave is heir of all.

Except the Cheerake, only one inſtance of deviation, from this ancient and general Indian cuſtom occurs to me: which was that of *Malahche*, the late famous chieftain of the *Kowwetah* head war-town of the lower part of the Muſkohge country, who bequeathed all he poſſeſſed to his real, and adopted relations,—being ſenſible they would be much more uſeful to his living friends, than to himſelf during his long ſleep: he diſplayed a genius far ſuperior to the crowd.

The Cheerake of late years, by the reiterated perſuaſion of the traders, have entirely left off the cuſtom of burying effects with the dead body; the neareſt of blood inherits them. They, and ſeveral other of our Indian nations, uſed formerly to ſhoot all the live ſtock that belonged to the deceaſed, ſoon after the interment of the corpſe; not according to the Pagan cuſtom of the funeral piles, on which they burned ſeveral of the living, that they might accompany and wait on the dead, but from a narrow-hearted avaricious principle, derived from their Hebrew progenitors.

Notwithſtanding the North-American Indians, like the South-Americans, inter the whole riches of the deceaſed with him, and ſo make his corpſe and the grave heirs of all, they never give them the leaſt diſturbance; even a blood-thirſty enemy will not deſpoil nor diſturb the dead. The grave proves an aſylum, and a ſure place of reſt to the ſleeping perſon, till at ſome certain time, according to their opinion, he riſes again to inherit his favourite place,—unleſs the covetous, or curious hand of ſome foreigner, ſhould break through his ſacred bounds. This cuſtom of burying the dead perſon's treaſures with him, has entirely ſwallowed up their medals, and other monuments of antiquity, without any probability of recovering them*.

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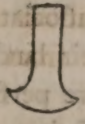
* In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapooſe river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garriſon, are two brazen tables, and five of copper. They eſteem them ſo ſacred as to keep them

As the Hebrews carefully buried their dead, ſo on any accident, they gathered their bones and laid them in the tombs of their fore-fathers: Thus, all the numerous nations of Indians perform the like friendly office to every deceaſed perſon of their reſpective tribe; inſomuch, that thoſe who

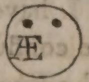
them conſtantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the leaſt, only in the time of their compounded firſt-fruit-offering, and annual expiation of ſins; at which ſeaſon, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the ſacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and thoſe warriors who chuſe it, carry the reſt after the manner of the high-prieſt; all the others carry white canes with ſwan-feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of theſe important monuments of antiquity, and enquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by four of the ſouthern traders, at the moſt eminent Indian-trading houſe of all Engliſh America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my requeſt he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforeſaid tables, but it could not poſſibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand ſacrifice, for fear of polluting their holy things, at which time gentlemen of curioſity may ſee them. *Old Bracket,* an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following deſcription of them:

Old Bracket's account of the *five copper* and *two braſs plates* under the beloved cabbin in Tuccabatchey-ſquare.



The ſhape of the five copper plates; one is a foot and half long and ſeven inches wide, the other four are ſhorter and narrower.

The largeſt ſtamped thus



The ſhape of the two braſs plates,—about a foot and a half in diameter.

He ſaid—he was told by his forefathers that thoſe plates were given to them by the man we call God; that there had been many more of other ſhapes, ſome as long as he could ſtretch with both his arms, and ſome had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had inſtructions given with them, viz. they muſt only be handled by particular people, and thoſe faſting; and no unclean woman muſt be ſuffered to come near them or the place where they are depoſited. He ſaid, none but this town's people had any ſuch plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more, which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He ſaid, there were two copper plates under the king's cabbin, which had lain there from the firſt ſettling of the town

This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-ſquare, 27th July, 1759, per *Will. Bolſover.*

loſe their people at war, if they have not corrupted their primitive cuſtoms, are ſo obſervant of this kindred duty, as to appropriate ſome time to collect the bones of their relations; which they call *bone gathering*, or "gathering the bones to their kindred," according to the Hebrew idiom *. The Cheerake, by reaſon of their great intercourſe with foreigners, have dropped that friendly office: and as they ſeem to be more intelligent than the reſt of our Engliſh-American Indians in their religious rites, and ceremonial obſervances, ſo I believe, the fear of pollution has likewiſe contributed to obliterate that ancient kindred duty. However, they ſeparate thoſe of their people who die at home, from others of a different nation; and every particular tribe indeed of each nation bears an intenſe love to itſelf, and divides every one of its people from the reſt, both while living, and after they are dead.

When any of them die at a diſtance, if the company be not driven and purſued by the enemy, they place the corpſe on a ſcaffold, covered with notched logs to ſecure it from being torn by wild beaſts, or fowls of prey: when they imagine the fleſh is conſumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very ſolemn manner. They will not aſſociate with us, when we are burying any of our people, who die in their land: and they are unwilling we ſhould join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the ſmall pox, even of the confluent ſort, I never ſaw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the Engliſh, and chieftain of *Ooeaſa*, as formerly deſcribed.

The Indians uſe the ſame ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former ſkin, fleſh, and ligaments. It is but a few days ſince I ſaw ſome return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-ſkins, ſeparately; and when carried by the door of one of the houſes of their family, they were laid down oppoſite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the uſual ſolemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of ſervice to them in the next ſtate. The chieftain carried twelve ſhort ſticks tied together, in the form of a quadrangle; ſo that each ſquare conſiſted of three. The ſticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were ſwans feathers tied to each corner, and as they called that frame, *Tereekpe tobeh,* "a white circle," and placed it over the door, while the women were weeping over the bones, perhaps it was originally deſigned to repreſent the holy fire, light, and ſpirit, who formerly preſided over the four principal ſtandards of the twelve tribes of Iſrael.

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* With the Hebrews, "to gather," uſually ſignified to die. Gen. xlix. 33. Jacob is ſaid to be gathered to his people. Pſal. xxvi. 9. Gather not my ſoul with ſinners. And Numb. xx. 24. Aaron ſhall be gathered to his people.

When any of their people die at home, they waſh and anoint the corpſe, and ſoon bring it out of doors for fear of pollution; then they place it oppoſite to the door, on the ſkins of wild beaſts, in a ſitting poſture, as looking into the door of the winter houſe, weſtward, ſufficiently ſupported with all his moveable goods; after a ſhort elogium, and ſpace of mourning, they carry him three times around the houſe in which he is to be interred, ſtoping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceaſed perſon's family, who goes before the hearſe, ſays each time, *Yàh,* ſhort with a baſs voice, and then invokes on a tenor key, *Yo,* which at the ſame time is likewiſe ſung by all the proceſſion, as long as one breath allows. Again, he ſtrikes up, on a ſharp treble key, the fœminine note, *He,* which in like manner, is taken up and continued by the reſt: then all of them ſuddenly ſtrike off the ſolemn chorus, and ſacred invocation, by ſaying, on a low key, *Wàh*; which conſtitute the divine eſſential name, *Yohewah.* This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were preſent, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared patron and friend. It ſeems as if they buried him in the name of the divine eſſence, and directed their plaintive religious notes to the author of life and death, in hopes of a reſurrection of the body; which hope engaged the Hebrews to ſtile their burying places, "the houſe of the living."

When they celebrated theſe funeral rites of the above chieftain, they laid the corpſe in his tomb, in a ſitting poſture, with his face towards the eaſt, his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not ſtreaked with black, becauſe that is a conſtant emblem of war and death; he was dreſt in his fineſt apparel, having his gun and pouch, and truſty hiccory bow, with a young panther's ſkin, full of arrows, along ſide of him, and every other uſeful thing he had been poſſeſſed of,—that when he riſes again, they may ſerve him in that tract of land which pleaſed him beſt before he went to take his long ſleep. His tomb was firm and clean in-ſide. They covered it with thick logs, ſo as to bear ſeveral tiers of cypreſs-bark, and ſuch a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid ſmell, and be on a level with the reſt of the floor. They often ſleep over thoſe tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the duſk of the evening, and dawn of the day, on benches cloſe by the tombs, muſt awake the memory of their relations very often: and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and ſet on ſuch revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood.

The Egyptians either embalmed, or buried, their dead: other heathen nations imagined that fire purified the body; they burned therefore the bodies of their dead, and put their aſhes into ſmall urns, which they religiouſly kept by them, as ſacred relicks. The Tartars called *Kyrgeſſi*, near the frozen ſea, formerly uſed to hang their dead relations and friends upon trees, to be eaten by ravenous birds to purify them. But the Americans ſeem evidently to have derived their copy from the Iſraelites, as to the place where they bury their dead, and the method of their funeral ceremonies, as well as the perſons with whom they are buried, and the great expences they are at in their burials. The Hebrews buried near the city of Jeruſalem, by the brook Kedron; and they frequently hewed their tombs out of rocks, or buried their dead oppoſite to their doors, implying a ſilent leſſon of friendſhip, and a pointing caution to live well. They buried all of one family together; to which cuſtom David alludes, when he ſays, "gather me not with the wicked:" and Sophronius ſaid with regard to the like form, "noli me tangere, hæretice, neque vivum nec mortuum." But they buried ſtrangers apart by themſelves, and named the place, *Kebhare Galeya*, "the burying place of ſtrangers." And theſe rude Americans are ſo ſtrongly partial to the ſame cuſtom, that they imagine if any of us were buried in the domeſtic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our ſpirits would haunt the eaves of their houſes at night, and cauſe ſeveral misfortunes to their family.

In reſemblance to the Hebrew cuſtom of embalming their dead, the Choktah treat the corpſe juſt as the religious Levite did his beloved concubine, who was abuſed by the Benjamites; for having placed the dead on a high ſcaffold ſtockaded round, at the diſtance of twelve yards from his houſe oppoſite to the door, the whole family convene there at the beginning of the fourth moon after the interment, to lament and feaſt together: after wailing a while on the mourning benches, which ſtand on the eaſt ſide of the quadrangular tomb, they raiſe and bring out the corpſe, and while the feaſt is getting ready, a perſon whoſe office it is, and properly called the *bone-picker*, diſſects it, as if it was intended for the ſhambles in the time of a great famine, with his ſharp-pointed, bloody knife. He continues buſily employed in his reputed ſacred office, till he has finiſhed the taſk, and ſcraped all the fleſh off the bones; which may juſtly be called the Choktah method of enbalming their dead. Then, they carefully place the bones in a kind of ſmall cheſt, in their natural order, that they may with eaſe and certainty be ſome time afterward reunited, and proceed to ſtrike up a ſong of lamentation, with various wailing tunes and notes: afterwards, they join as cheerfully in the funeral feaſt, as if their kinſman was only taking his uſual ſleep. Having regaled themſelves with a plentiful variety, they go along with thoſe beloved relicks of their dead, in ſolemn proceſſion, lamenting with doleful notes, till they arrive at the bone-houſe, which ſtands in a ſolitary place, apart from the town: then they proceed around it, much after the manner of thoſe who performed the obſequies of the Chikkaſah chieftain, already deſcribed, and there depoſit their kinſman's bones to lie along ſide of his kindred-bones, till in due time they are revived by *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, that he may repoſſeſs his favourite place.

Thoſe bone-houſes are ſcaffolds raiſed on durable pitch-pine forked poſts, in the form of a houſe covered a-top, but open at both ends. I ſaw three of them in one of their towns, pretty near each other—the place ſeemed to be unfrequented; each houſe contained the bones of one tribe, ſeparately, with the hieoglyphical figures of the family on each of the old-ſhaped arks: they reckon it irreligious to mix the bones of a relation with thoſe of a ſtranger, as bone of bone, and fleſh of the ſame fleſh, ſhould be always joined together; and much leſs will they thruſt the body of their beloved kinſman into the abominable tomb of a hateful enemy. I obſerved a ladder fixed in the ground, oppoſite to the middle of the broad-ſide of each of thoſe dormitories of the dead, which was made out of a broad board, and ſtood conſiderably bent over the ſacred repoſitory, with the ſteps on the inſide. On the top was the carved image of a dove, with its wings ſtretched out, and its head inclining down, as if earneſtly viewing or watching over the bones of the dead: and from the top of the ladder to almoſt the ſurface of the earth, there hung a chain of grape-vines twiſted together, in circular links, and the ſame likewiſe at their domeſtic tombs. Now the dove after the deluge, became the emblem of *Rowah*, the holy ſpirit, and in proceſs of time was deified by the heathen world, inſtead of the divine perſon it typified: the vine was likewiſe a ſymbol of fruitfulneſs, both in the animal and vegetable world.

To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I muſt here obſerve, that every Indian traveller as he paſſes that way throws a ſtone on the place, according as he likes or diſlikes the occaſion, or manner of the death of the deceaſed.

In the woods we often ſee innumerable heaps of ſmall ſtones in thoſe places, where according to tradition ſome of their diſtinguiſhed people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered: there they add *Pelion* to *Oſſa*, ſtill increaſing each heap, as a laſting monument, and honour to them, and an incentive to great actions.

Mercury was a favourite god with the heathens, and had various employments; one of which was to be god of the roads, to direct travellers aright—from which the ancient Romans derived their *Dii Compitales*, or *Dei Viales*, which they likewiſe placed at the meeting of roads, and in the high ways, and eſteemed them the patrons and protectors of travellers. The early heathens placed great heaps of ſtones at the dividing of the roads, and conſecrated thoſe heaps to him by unction*, and other religious ceremonies. And in honour to him, travellers threw a ſtone to them, and thus exceedingly increaſed their bulk: this might occaſion Solomon to compare the giving honour to a fool, to throwing a ſtone into a heap, as each were alike inſenſible of the obligation; and to cauſe the Jewiſh writers to call this cuſtom a piece of idolatrous worſhip. But the Indians place thoſe heaps of ſtones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the leaſt trace of any road †. And they then obſerve no kind of religious ceremony, but raiſe thoſe heaps merely to do honour to their dead, and incite the living to the purſuit of virtue. Upon which account, it ſeems to be derived from the ancient Jewiſh cuſtom of increaſing Abſalom's tomb; for the laſt things are eaſieſt retained, becauſe people repeat them ofteneſt, and imitate them moſt.

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[*] They rubbed the principal ſtone of each of thoſe heaps all over with oil, as a ſacrifice of libation; by which means they often became black, and ſlippery; as Arnobius relates of the idols of his time; Lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine ſordidatum, tanquam ineſſet vis preſens, adulabar. *Arnob. Adverſ. Gent.*

[†] Laban and Jacob raiſed a heap of ſtones, as a laſting monument of their friendly covenant. And Jacob called the heap *Galeed*, "the heap of witneſs." Gen. xxxi. 47.

Though the Cheerake do not now collect the bones of their dead, yet they continue to raiſe and multiply heaps of ſtones, as monuments for their dead; this the Engliſh army remembers well, for in the year 1760, having marched about two miles along a wood-land path, beyond a hill where they had ſeen a couple of theſe reputed tombs, at the war-woman's creek, they received ſo ſharp a defeat by the Cheerake, that another ſuch muſt have inevitably ruined the whole army.

Many of thoſe heaps are to be ſeen, in all parts of the continent of North-America: where ſtones could not be had, they raiſed large hillocks or mounds of earth, wherein they carefully depoſited the bones of their dead, which were placed either in earthen veſſels, or in a ſimple kind of arks, or cheſts. Although the Mohawk Indians may be reaſonably expected to have loſt their primitive cuſtoms, by reaſon of their great intercourſe with foreigners, yet I was told by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed character, that they obſerve the aforeſaid ſepulchral cuſtom to this day, inſomuch, that when they are performing that kindred-duty, they cry out, *Mahoom Taguyn Kameneh*, "Grandfather, I cover you."

ARGUMENT XX.

The Jewiſh records tell us, that their women MOURNED for the loſs of their deceaſed huſbands, and were reckoned vile, by the civil law, if they married in the ſpace, at leaſt, of ten months after their death. In reſemblance to that cuſtom, all the Indian widows, by an eſtabliſhed ſtrict penal law, mourn for the loſs of their deceaſed huſbands; and among ſome tribes for the ſpace of three or four years. But the Eaſt-India Pagans forced the widow, to ſit on a pile of wood, and hold the body of her huſband on her knees, to be conſumed together in the flames.

The Muſkohge widows are obliged to live a chaſte ſingle life, for the tedious ſpace of four years; and the Chikkaſah women, for the term of three, at the riſque of the law of adultery being executed againſt the recuſants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the firſt year of her widowhood, ſhe is obliged through the fear of ſhame to lament her loſs, in very intenſe audible ſtrains. As *Yah ah* ſignifies weeping, lamenting, mourning, or Ah God; and as the widows, and others, in their grief bewail and cry *Yo He* (*ta*) *Wah*, *Yohetaweh*; *Yohetaha Yohetahe*, the origin is ſufficiently clear. For the Hebrews reckoned it ſo great an evil to die unlamented, like Jehoiakim, Jer. xxii. 18. "who had none to ſay, Ah, my brother! Ah, my ſiſter! Ah, my Lord! Ah, his glory!" that it is one of the four judgments they pray againſt, and it is called the burial of an aſs. With them, burying ſignified lamenting, and ſo the Indian widows direct their mournful cries to the author of life and death, inſert a plural note in the ſacred name, and again tranſpoſe the latter, through an invariable religious principle, to prevent a prophanation.

Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diverſions, at the penalty of an adultereſs; and likewiſe to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The neareſt kinſmen of the deceaſed huſband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this reſpect. The place of interment is alſo calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the houſe under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, ſhe is obliged for the firſt moon, to ſit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole *, which is decked with all his martial trophies, and muſt be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's ſuppoſed religious duty, it chills, or ſweats, and waſtes them ſo exceedingly; for they are allowed no ſhade, or ſhelter. This ſharp rigid cuſtom excites the women to honour the marriage-ſtate, and keeps them obliging to their huſbands, by anticipating the viſible ſharp difficulties which they muſt undergo for ſo great a loſs. The three or four years monaſtic life, which ſhe lives after his death, makes it her intereſt to ſtrive by every means, to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever ſo dull and worthleſs; if ſhe is able to ſhed tears on ſuch an occaſion, they often proceed from ſelf-love. We can generally diſtinguiſh between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured ſtrain. She doth not ſo much bewail his death, as her own recluſe life, and hateful ſtate of celibacy; which to many of them, is as uneligible, as it was to the Hebrew ladies, who preferred death before the unmarried ſtate, and reckoned their virginity a bewailable condition, like the ſtate of the dead.

The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loſs of their dead, and if their tears cannot be ſeen to flow, their ſhrill voices will be heard to cry, which anſwers the ſolemn chorus a great deal better †. However, they are no way churliſh of their tears, for I have ſeen them, on the occaſion, pour them out, like fountains of water: but after having

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* The war-pole is a ſmall peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off ſhort: it is fixt in the ground oppoſite to his door, and all his implements of war, are hung on the ſhort boughs of it, till they rot.

† Jer. ix. 17. 19. Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts: conſider ye, and call for the mourning-women, that they may come; and ſend for cunning women, that they may come. For a voice of wailing is heard out of Zion, how are we ſpoiled? we are greatly confounded, becauſe we have forſaken the land, becauſe our dwellings have caſt us out.

thus tired themſelves, they might with equal propriety have aſked byſtanders in the manner of the native Iriſh, Ara ci fuar baſs—"And who is dead?"

They formerly dreſſed their heads with black moſs on thoſe ſolemn occaſions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment, they now beat with laurel-buſhes, the women having their hair diſheveled: the firſt of which cuſtoms ſeems to be derived from the Hebrew cuſtom of wearing ſackcloth at their funeral ſolemnities, and on other occaſions, when they afflicted their ſouls before God—to which divine writ often alludes, in deſcribing the blackneſs of the ſkies: and the laurel being an ever-green, is a lively emblem of the eternity of the human ſoul, and the pleaſant ſtate it enters into after death, according to antiquity. They beat it on the ground, to expreſs their ſharp pungent grief; and, perhaps, to imitate the Hebrew trumpeters for the dead, in order to make as ſtriking a ſound as they poſſibly can on ſo doleful an occaſion.

Though the Hebrews had no poſitive precept that obliged the widow to mourn the death of her huſband, or to continue her widowhood, for any time; yet the gravity of their tempers, and their ſcrupulous nicety of the law of purity, introduced the obſervance of thoſe modeſt and religious cuſtoms, as firmly under the penalty of ſhame, as if they bore the ſanction of law [†]. In imitation of them, the Indians have copied ſo exactly, as to compel the widow to act the part of the diſconſolate dove, for the irreparable loſs of her mate. Very different is the cuſtom of other nations:—the Africans, when any of their head-men die, kill all their ſlaves, their friends that were deareſt to them, and all their wives whom they loved beſt, that they may accompany and ſerve them, in the other world, which is a moſt diabolical Ammonitiſh ſacrifice of human blood. The Eaſt-India widows may refuſe to be burned on their huſbands funeral piles, with impunity, if they become proſtitutes, or public women to ſing and dance at marriages, or on other occaſions of rejoicing. How ſuperior is the virtuous cuſtom of the ſavage Americans, concerning female chaſtity during the time of their widowhood?

[†] Theodoſius tells us, Lib. 1. Legum de ſecundis nuptiis, that women were infamous by the civil law, who married a ſecond time before a year, or at leaſt ten months were expired.

The Indian women mourn three moons, for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time, they are not to anoint, or tie up their hair; neither is the huſband of the deceaſed allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the houſe, much leſs to join any company: and in that time of mourning he often lies among the aſhes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the houſe where their female relation is intombed, and ſtay there till morning, when the neareſt ſurviving old kinſwoman crops their fore-locks pretty ſhort. This they call *Ebó Intànáah*, "the women have mourned the appointed time." *Ebo* ſignifies "a woman," *Inta* "finiſhed by divine appointment," *Aà* "moving" or walking, and *Ah*, "their note of grief, ſorrow, or mourning:" the name expreſſes, and the cuſtom is a viſible certificate of, their having mourned the appointed time for their dead. When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by ſun-riſe, and thus finiſh their ſolemn *Yah-ah*.

ARGUMENT XXI.

The ſurviving brother, by the Moſaic law, was to RAISE SEED to a deceaſed brother who left a widow childleſs, to perpetuate his name and family, and inherit his goods and eſtate, or be degraded: and, if the iſſue he begat was a male child, it aſſumed the name of the deceaſed. The Indian cuſtom looks the very ſame way; yet it is in this as in their law of blood—the eldeſt brother can redeem.

Although a widow is bound, by a ſtrict penal law, to mourn the death of her huſband for the ſpace of three or four years; yet, if ſhe be known to lament her loſs with a ſincere heart, for the ſpace of a year, and her circumſtances of living are ſo ſtrait as to need a change of her ſtation—and the elder brother of her deceaſed huſband lies with her, ſhe is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herſelf in the ſame manner as the Hebrew widow, who was refuſed by the ſurviving brother of her deceaſed huſband, became free to marry whom ſhe pleaſed.

The warm-conſtitutioned young widows keep their eye ſo intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brothers-in-law with ſpirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and ſo put themſelves out of the reach of that mortifying law. If they are diſappointed, as it ſometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakſe*, or *Skoobâle*, *Haſſê kroopha*, "Eunuchus præputio detecto, et pene brevi;" the moſt degrading of epithets. Similar to the Hebrew ladies, who on the brother's refuſal looſed his ſhoe from his foot, and ſpit in his face, (Deut. xxv. 9.); and as ſome of the Rabbies tell us they made water in the ſhoe, and threw it with deſpite in his face, and then readily went to bed to any of his kinſmen, or moſt diſtant relations of the ſame line that ſhe liked beſt; as Ruth married Boaz. Joſephus, to palliate the fact, ſays ſhe only beat him with the ſhoe over his face. David probably alludes to this cuſtom, Pſal. lx. 8. "Over Edom I will caſt out my ſhoe," or detraction.

Either by corruption, or miſunderſtanding that family-kiſſing cuſtom of the Hebrews, the corrupt Cheerake marry both mother and daughter at once; though, unleſs in this inſtance, they and all the other ſavage nations obſerve the degrees of conſanguinity in a ſtricter manner than the Hebrews, or even the chriſtian world. The Cheerake do not marry their firſt or ſecond couſins; and it is very obſervable, that the whole tribe reckon a friend in the ſame rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage, and any other affair in ſocial life. This ſeems to evince that they copied from the ſtable and tender friendſhip between Jonathan and David; eſpecially as the Hebrews had legal, or adopted, as well as natural brothers.

ARGUMENT XXII.

When the Iſraelites gave names to their children or others, they choſe ſuch appellatives as ſuited beſt with their circumſtances, and the times. This cuſtom was as early as the Patriarchal age; for we find Abram was changed into Abraham; Sarai into Sarah, Jacob into Iſrael;—and afterwards Oſhea, Joſhua, Solomon, Jedidiah, &c. &c. This cuſtom is a ſtanding rule with the Indians, and I never obſerved the leaſt deviation from it. They give their children names, expreſſive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumſtances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, "the fox;" and a female, *Pakahle*, "the bloſſom, or flower." The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choolliſhke*, "the father and mother of the fox;" in like manner, thoſe of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahliſhke*; for *Ingge* ſignifies the father, and *Iſhke* the mother. In private life they are ſo termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next ſurviving child, or if they have none, by their own name: and it is not known they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, ſaying, "the one that is dead," to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and aſſume their names, in the manner already mentioned. This was of divine appointment, to comfort the barren, and was analogous to the kindred method of counting with the Hebrews: inſtead of ſurnames, they uſed in their genealogies the name of the father, and prefixed *Ben*, "a ſon," to the perſon's name. And thus the Greeks, in early times. No nation uſed ſurnames, except the Romans after their league and union with the Sabines. And they did not introduce that cuſtom, with the leaſt view of diſtinguiſhing their families, but as a politic ſeal to their ſtrong compact of friendſhip; for as the Romans prefixed Sabine names to their own, the Sabines took Roman names in like manner. A ſpecimen of the Indian war-names, will illuſtrate this argument with more clearneſs.

They crown a warrior, who has killed a diſtinguiſhed enemy, with the name, *Yanaſabe*, "the buffalo-killer;" *Yanaſa* is a buffalo, compounded of *Yah*, the divine eſſence, and *Aſa*, "there, or here is," as formerly mentioned: and *Abe* is their conſtant war-period, ſignifying, by their rhetorical figure "one who kills another." It ſignifies alſo to murder a perſon, or beat him ſeverely. This proper name ſignifies, the proſperous killer, or deſtroyer of the buffalo, or ſtrong man—it cannot poſſibly be derived from אבה, *Abeh*, which ſignifies good-will, brotherly love, or tender affection; but from אבל, *Abele*, grief, ſorrow, or mourning, as an effect of that hoſtile act.

Anoah, with the Indians, is the name of a rambling perſon, or one of unſettled reſidence, and *Anoah ookproo*, is literally a bad rambling perſon, "a renagadoe:" likewiſe *Anoah ookproo'ſhto* makes it a ſuperlative, on account of the abbreviation of *Iſhto*, one of the divine names which they ſubjoin. In like manner, *Noabe* is the war-name of a perſon who kills a rambling enemy, or one detached as a ſcout, ſpy, or the like. It conſiſts of the patriarchal name, *Noah*, and *Abe*, "to kill," according to the Hebrew original, of which it is a contraction, to make it ſmoother, and to indulge a rapidity of expreſſion. There is ſo ſtrong an agreement between this compounded proper name, and two ancient Hebrew proper names, that it diſplays the greateſt affinity between the warfaring red and white Hebrews; eſpecially as it ſo clearly alludes to the divine hiſtory of the firſt homicide, and the words are adapted to their proper ſignifications.

Becauſe the Choktah did not till lately trim their hair, the other tribes through contempt of their cuſtom, called them *Pas' Pharáàh*, "long hair," and they in return, gave them the contemptuous name, *Skoobálè'ſhtó*, "very naked, or bare heads," compounded of *Skooba*, *Ale*, and *Iſhto*: the ſame word, or *Wakſiſhto*, with *Haſſeh* prefixed, expreſſes the *penem præputio detecto*; which ſhews they lately retained a glimmering, though confuſed notion of the law of circumciſion, and the prohibition of not polling their hair. They call a crow, *Pharah*; and *Pas'pharáàbe* is the proper name of a warrior, who killed an enemy wearing long hair. It is a triple compound from *Páſèh*, "the hair of one's head, *Pharaah* "long," and *Abe*, "killing," which they croud together. They likewiſe ſay, their tongue is not

Pharakto, " forked," thereby alluding probably to the formerly-hateful name of the Egyptian kings, Pharaoh.

When the Indians diſtinguiſh themſelves in war, their names are always compounded,—drawn from certain roots ſuitable to their intention, and expreſſive of the characters of the perſons, ſo that their names joined together, often convey a clear and diſtinct idea of ſeveral circumſtances—as of the time and place, where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the ſlain. The following is a ſpecimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, " a killer of the enemy;"—he who kills a perſon carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuſka*; the firſt word ſignifies a kettle, and the laſt a warrior. *Minggáſhtàbe* ſignifies " one who killed a very great chieftain," compounded of *Mingo*, *Aſh*, and *Abe*. *Pae-Máſhtàbe*, is, one in the way of war-gradation, or below the higheſt in rank, *Pae* ſignifying " far off." *Tiſshu Maſhtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain's waiter carrying the beloved ark. *Shulaſhum-maſhtabe*, the name of the late Choktah great war-leader, our firm friend *Red-ſhoes*, is compounded of *Shulaſs'*, " Maccaſeenes," or deer ſkin-ſhoes, *Humma*, " red," *Aſh*, " the divine fire;" *T* is inſerted for the ſake of a bold ſound, or to expreſs the multiplicity of the exploits he performed, in killing the enemy. In treating of their language, I obſerved, they end their proper names with a vowel, and contract their war-titles, to give more ſmoothneſs, and a rapidity of expreſſion. *Etehk* is the general name they give to any female creature, but by adding their conſtant war-period to it, it ſignifies " weary;" as *Chetehkabe*, " you are weary:" to make it a ſuperlative, they ſay *Chetehkabe-O*: or *Chetehkabeſhto*.

The Cheerake call a dull ſtalking fellow, *Sooreh*, " the turkey-buzzard," and one of an ill temper, *Kana Cheeſteche*, " the waſp," or a perſon reſembling the dangerous Canaan rabbit, being compounded of the abbreviated name of Canaan, and *Cheeſto* " a rabbit," which the Iſraelites were not to meddle with. One of our chief traders, who was very loquacious, they called *Sekakee*, " the graſs-hopper," derived from *Sekáko*, " to make haſte." To one of a hoarſe voice, they gave the name, *Kanoona*, " the bull-frog."

The Katahba Indians call their chief old interpreter, on account of his obſcene language, *Emate-Atikke*, "the ſmock-interpreter." The "*raven*," is one of the Cheerake favourite war-names. Carolina and Georgia remember *Quorinnah*, "the raven," of *Huwhaſe-town*; he was one of the moſt daring warriors of the whole nation, and by far the moſt intelligent, and this name, or war-appellative, admirably ſuited his well-known character. Though with all the Indian nations, the raven is deemed an impure bird, yet they have a kind of ſacred regard to it, whether from the traditional knowledge of Noah's employing it while he was in the ark, or from that bird having fed Elijah in the wilderneſs (as ſome ſuppoſe) cannot be determined; however with our ſuppoſed red Hebrews the name points out an indefatigable, keen, ſucceſsful warrior.

ARGUMENT XXIII.

Although other reſemblances of the Indian rites and cuſtoms to thoſe of the Hebrews, might be pointed out; not to ſeem tedious, I proceed to the laſt argument of the origin of the Indian Americans, which ſhall be from their own traditions,—from the accounts of our Engliſh writers—and from the teſtimonies which the Spaniſh writers have given, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.

The Indian tradition ſays, that their forefathers in very remote ages came from a far diſtant country, where all the people were of one colour; and that in proceſs of time they moved eaſtward, to their preſent ſettlements. So that, what ſome of our writers have aſſerted is not juſt, who ſay the Indians affirm, that there were originally three different tribes in thoſe countries, when the ſupreme chieftain to encourage ſwift running, propoſed a proportionable reward of diſtinction to each, as they excelled in ſpeed in paſſing a certain diſtant river; as, that the firſt ſhould be poliſhed white—the ſecond red—and the third black; which took place accordingly after the race was over. This ſtory ſprung from the innovating ſuperſtitious ignorance of the popiſh prieſts, to the ſouth-weſt of us. Our own Indian tradition is literal, and not allegorical, and ought to be received; becauſe people who have been long ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, muſt know their own traditions the beſt, and could not be deceived in ſo material, and frequently repeated an event. Though they have been disjoined through different intereſts, time immemorial; yet, (the rambling tribes of northern Indians excepted) they aver that they came over the Miſſiſippi from the weſtward, before they arrived at their preſent ſettlements. This we ſee verified by the weſtern old towns they have left behind them; and by the ſituation of their old beloved towns, or places of refuge, lying about a weſt courſe from each different nation. Such places in Judea were chiefly built in the moſt remote parts of the country; and the Indians deem thoſe only as beloved towns, where they firſt ſettled.

This tradition is corroborated by a current report of the old Chikkaſah Indians to our traders, " that about forty years ſince, there came from Mexico ſome of the old Chikkaſah nation, (the Chichemicas, according to the Spaniſh accounts) in queſt of their brethren, as far north as the Aquahpah nation, about 130 miles above the Nachee old towns, on the ſouth ſide of the Miſſiſippi; but through French policy, they were either killed, or ſent back, ſo as to prevent their opening a brotherly intercourſe, as they had propoſed." And it is worthy of notice, that the Muſkohgeh cave, out of which one of their politicians perſuaded them their anceſtors formerly aſcended to their preſent terreſtrial abode, lies in the Nanne Hamgeh old town, inhabited by the Miſſiſippi-Nachee Indians, which is one of the moſt weſtern parts of their old-inhabited country.

I hope I ſhall be excuſed in reciting their ancient oral tradition, from father to ſon to the preſent time. They ſay, that one of their cunning old religious men finding that religion did not always thrive beſt, reſolved with himſelf to impoſe on his friends credulity, and alter in ſome reſpects their old tradition; he accordingly pretended to have held for a long time a continual intercourſe with their ſubterranean progenitors in a cave, above 600 miles to the weſtward of Charles-town in South-Carolina, adjoining to the old Chikkaſah trading path; this people were then poſſeſt of every thing convenient for human life, and he promiſed them fully to ſupply their wants, in a conſtant manner, without ſweating in the field; the moſt troubleſome of all things to manly briſk warriors. He inſiſted, that all who were deſirous of ſo natural and beneficial a correſpondence, ſhould contribute large preſents, to be delivered on the embaſſy, to their brethren—terræ filii,—to clear the old chain of friendſhip from the ruſt it had contracted, through the fault of cankering time. He accordingly received preſents from moſt of the people, to deliver them to their beloved ſubterranean kindred: but it ſeems, they ſhut up the mouth of the cave, and detained him there in order to be purified.

The old waſte towns of the Chikkaſah lie to the weſt and ſouth-weſt; from where they have lived ſince the time we firſt opened a trade with them; on which courſe they formerly went to war over the Miſſiſippi, becauſe they knew it beſt, and had diſputes with the natives of thoſe parts, when they firſt came from thence. Wiſdom directed them then to connive at ſome injuries on account of their itinerant camp of women and children; for their tradition ſays, it conſiſted of ten thouſand men, beſides women and children, when they came from the weſt, and paſſed over the Miſſiſippi. The fine breed of running wood horſes they brought with them, were the preſent Mexican or Spaniſh barbs. They alſo aver, that their anceſtors cut off, and deſpoiled the greateſt part of a caravan, loaded with gold and ſilver; but the carriage of it proved ſo troubleſome to them, that they threw it into a river where it could not benefit the enemy.

If we join together theſe circumſtances, it utterly deſtroys the fine Peruvian and Mexican temples of the ſun, &c.—which the Spaniards have laviſhly painted from their own fruitful imaginations, to ſhew their own capacity of writing, though at the expence of truth; and to amuſe the gazing diſtant world, and leſſen our ſurpriſe at the ſea of reputed heatheniſh blood, which their avaricious tempers, and flaming ſuperſtitious zeal, prompted them to ſpill.

If any Engliſh reader have patience to ſearch the extraordinary volumes of the Spaniſh writers, or even thoſe of his catholic majeſty's chief hiſtoriographer, he will not only find a wild portrait, but a ſtriking reſemblance and unity of the civil and martial cuſtoms, the religious rites, and traditions, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and the North-Americans, according to the manner of their moreſque paintings: likewiſe, the very national name of the primitive Chikkaſah, which they ſtile Chichemicas, and whom they repute to have been the firſt inhabitants of Mexico. However, I lay little ſtreſs upon Spaniſh teſtimonies, for time and ocular proof have convinced us of the laboured falſhood of almoſt all their hiſtorical narrations concerning every curious thing relative to South America. They were ſo diveſted of thoſe principles inherent to honeſt enquirers after truth, that they have recorded themſelves to be a tribe of prejudiced bigots, ſtriving to aggrandiſe the Mahometan valour of about nine hundred ſpurious catholic chriſtians, under the patronage of their favourite ſaint, as perſons by whom heaven deſigned to extirpate thoſe two great nominal empires of pretended cannibals. They found it convenient to blacken the natives with ill names, and report them to their demi-god the mufti of Rome, as ſacrificing every day, a prodigious multitude of human victims to numerous idol-gods.

The learned world is already fully acquainted with the falſehood of their hiſtories; reaſon and later diſcoveries condemn them. Many years have elapſed, ſince I firſt entered into Indian life, beſides a good acquaintance with ſeveral ſouthern Indians, who were converſant with the Mexican Indian rites and cuſtoms; and it is incontrovertible, that the Spaniſh monks and jeſuits in deſcribing the language, religion, and cuſtoms, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, were both unwilling, and incapable to perform ſo arduous an undertaking, with juſtice and truth. They did not converſe with the natives as friends, but deſpiſed, hated, and murdered them, for the ſake of their gold and ſilver: and to excuſe their own ignorance, and moſt ſhocking, cool, premeditated murders, they artfully deſcribed them as an abominable ſwarm of idolatrous cannibals offering human ſacrifices to their various falſe deities, and eating of the unnatural victims. Nevertheleſs, from their own partial accounts, we can trace a near agreement between the civil and martial cuſtoms, the religious worſhip, traditions, dreſs, ornaments, and other particulars of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and thoſe of the preſent North-American Indians.

Acoſta tells us, that though the Mexicans have no proper name for God, yet they allow a ſupreme omnipotence and providence: his capacity was not ſufficient to diſcover the former; however, the latter agrees with the preſent religious opinion of the Engliſh-American Indians, of an univerſal divine wiſdom and government. The want of a friendly intercourſe between our northern and ſouthern Indians, has in length of time occaſioned ſome of the former a little to corrupt, or alter the name of the ſelf-exiſtent creator and preſerver of the univerſe, as they repeat it in their religious invocations, YO HE A AH. But with what ſhow of truth, conſiſtent with the above conceſſion, can Acoſta deſcribe the Mexicans as offering human ſacrifices alſo to devils, and greedily feaſting on the victims!

We are told alſo that the Nauatalcas believe, they dwelt in another region before they ſettled in Mexico; that they wandered eighty years in ſearch of it, through a ſtrict obedience to their gods, who ordered them to go in queſt of new lands, that had ſuch particular ſigns;—that they punctually obeyed the divine mandate, and by that means found out, and ſettled the fertile country of Mexico. This account correſponds with the Chikkaſah tradition of ſettling in their preſent ſuppoſed holy land, and ſeems to have been derived from a compound tradition of Aaron's rod, and the light or divine preſence with the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, when they marched. And probably the Mexican number of years, was originally *forty*, inſtead of *eighty*.

Lopez de Gomara tells us, that the Mexicans were ſo devout, as to offer to the ſun and earth, a ſmall quantity of every kind of meat and drink, before any of themſelves taſted it; and that they ſacrificed part of their corn, fruits, &c. in like manner; otherwiſe, they were deemed haters of, and contemned by their gods. Is not this a confuſed Spaniſh picture of the Jewiſh daily ſacrifice, and firſt-fruit-offering, as formerly obſerved? and which, as we have ſeen, are now offered up by the northern Indians, to the bountiful giver, the ſupreme holy ſpirit of fire, whom they invoke in that moſt ſacred and awful ſong, YO HE WAH, and loudly aſcribe to him *Hallelu-Yah*, for his continued goodneſs to them.

The Spaniſh writers ſay, that when Cortes approached Mexico, Montezuma ſhut himſelf up, and continued for the ſpace of eight days in

prayers

prayers and faſting: but to blacken him, and excuſe their own diabolical butcheries, they aſſert he offered human ſacrifices at the ſame time to abominable and frightful idols. But the ſacrifices with more juſtice may be attributed to the Spaniards than to the Mexicans—as their narratives alſo are a ſacrifice of truth itſelf. Montezuma and his people's faſtings, prayers, &c. were doubtleſs the ſame with thoſe of the northern Indians, who on particular occaſions, by ſeparate faſtings, ablutions, purgations, &c. ſeek to ſanctify themſelves, and ſo avert the ill effects of the divine anger, and regain the favour of the deity.

They write, that the Mexicans offered to one of their gods, a ſacrifice compounded of ſome of all the ſeeds of their country, grinded fine, and mixed with the blood of children, and of ſacrificed virgins; that they plucked out the hearts of thoſe victims, and offered them as firſt-fruits to the idol; and that the warriors imagined, the leaſt relic of the ſacrifice would preſerve them from danger. They ſoon afterwards tell us of a temple of a quadrangular form, called *Teucalli*, "God's houſe," and *Chacalmua*, "a miniſter of holy things," who belonged to it. They likewiſe ſpeak of "the hearth of God,—the continual fire of God,—the holy ark," &c. If we cut off the jeſuitical paintings of the unnatural ſacrifice, the reſt is conſonant to what hath been obſerved, concerning the North American Indians. And it is very obvious, the North and South American Indians are alike of vindictive tempers, putting moſt of their invading enemies that fall into their power to the fiery torture. The Spaniards looking upon themſelves as divine embaſſadors, under the imperial ſignature of the HOLY LORD of Rome, were exceſſively enraged againſt the ſimple native South-Americans, becauſe they tortured forty of their captivated people by repriſal, devoting them to the fire, and ate their hearts, according to the univerſal war-cuſtom of our northern Indians, on the like occaſion. The Spaniſh terror and hatred on this account, their pride, religious bigotry, and an utter ignorance of the Indian dialects, rites, and cuſtoms, excited them thus to delineate the Mexicans;—and equally hard names, and unjuſt charges, the bloody members of their diabolical inquiſition uſed to beſtow on thoſe pretended heretics, whom they gave over to be tortured and burnt by the ſecular power. But it is worthy of notice, the Spaniſh writers acknowledge that the Mexicans brought their human ſacrifices from the oppoſite ſea; and did not offer up any of their own people: ſo that this was but the ſame as our North-American Indians ſtill practiſe, when they devote their captives to death; which is uſhered in with ablutions, and other methods of ſanctifying themſelves, as have been particularly deſcribed; and they perform the ſolemnity with ſinging the ſacred triumphal ſong, with beating of the drum, dances, and various ſorts of rejoicings, through gratitude to the beneficent and divine author of ſucceſs againſt their common enemy. By the deſcription of the Portugueſe writers, the Indian-Braſilian method of war, and of torturing their devoted captives, very nearly reſembles the cuſtoms of our Indians.

Acoſta, according to his uſual ignorance of the Indian cuſtoms, ſays, that ſome in Mexico underſtood one another by whiſtling, on which he attempts to be witty—but notwithſtanding the great contempt and ſurpriſe of the Spaniards at thoſe Indians who whiſtled as they went; this whiſtle was no other than the war-whoop, or a very loud and ſhrill ſhout, denoting death, or good or bad news, or bringing in captives from war. The ſame writer ſays they had three kinds of knighthood, with which they honoured the beſt ſoldiers; the chief of which was the red ribbon; the next the lion, or tyger-knight; and the meaneſt was the grey knight. He might with as much truth, have added the turky-buzzard knight, the ſun-blind bat knight, and the night-owl knight. His account of the various gradations of the Indian war-titles, ſhews the unſkilfulneſs of that voluminous writer, even in the firſt principles of his Indian ſubject, and how far we ought to rely on his marvellous works.

The accounts the Spaniards formerly gave us of Florida and its inhabitants, are written in the ſame romantic ſtrain with thoſe of Mexico. Ramuſius tells us, that Alvaro Nunes and his company reported the Apalahchee Indians to be ſuch a gigantic people, as to carry bows, thick as a man's arm, and of eleven or twelve ſpans long, ſhooting with proportional force and direction. It ſeems they lived then a ſober and temperate life, for Morgues ſays, one of their kings was three hundred years old; though Laudon reckons him only two hundred and fifty: and Morgues aſſures us, he ſaw this young Indian Methuſalah's father, who was fifty years older than his ſon, and that each of them was likely by the common courſe of nature to live thirty or forty years longer, although they had ſeen their fifth generation. Since that time they have ſo exceedingly degenerated, in height of body, largeneſs of defenſive arms, and ante-deluvian longevity, that I am afraid, theſe early and extraordinary writers would ſcarcely know the deſcendants of thoſe Apalahche Anakim, if they now ſaw them. They are at preſent the ſame as their dwarfiſh red neighbours; ſic tranſit gloria mundi.

Nicholaus Challuſius paints Florida full of winged ſerpents; he affirms he ſaw one there, and that the old natives were very careful to get its head, on account of ſome ſuppoſed ſuperſtition. Ferdinando Soto tells us, that when he entered Florida, he found a Spaniard, (J. Ortez) whom the natives had captivated during the ſpace of twelve years, conſequently he muſt have gained in that time, ſufficient ſkill in their dialect to give a true interpretation and account—and he aſſures us, that Ucita, the Lord of the place, made that fellow, "Temple-keeper," to prevent the night-wolves from carrying away the dead corpſe; that the natives worſhipped the devil, and ſacrificed to him the life and blood of moſt of their captives;—who ſpoke with them face to face, and ordered them to bring thoſe offerings to quench his burning thirſt. And we are told by Benzo, that when Soto died, the good-natured Cacique ordered two likely young Indians to be killed according to cuſtom, to wait on him where he was gone.—But the Chriſtian Spaniards denied his death, and aſſured them he was the ſon of God, and therefore could not die. If we except the laſt ſentence, which bears a juſt analogy to the preſumption and arrogance of the popiſh prieſts and hiſtorians, time and opportunity have fully convinced us, that all the reſt is calumny and falſhood. It muſt be confeſſed however, that none, even of the Spaniſh monks and friars, have gone ſo deep in the marvellous, as our own ſagacious David Ingram—he aſſures us, "that he not only heard of very ſurpriſing animals in theſe parts of the world, but ſaw elephants, horſes, and ſtrange wild animals twice as big as our ſpecies of horſes, formed like a grey-hound in their hinder parts; he ſaw likewiſe bulls with ears like hounds; and another ſurpriſing ſpecies of quadrupeds bigger than bears, without head or neck, but nature had fixed their eyes and mouths more ſecurely in their breaſts." At the end of his monſtrous ideal productions, he juſtly introduces the devil in the rear, ſometimes aſſuming the likeneſs of a dog; at other times the ſhape of a calf, &c. Although this legendary writer has tranſcended the bounds of truth, yet where he is not emulous of outdoing the jeſuitical romances, it would require a good knowledge of America to confute him in many particulars:

this ſhews how little the learned world can rely on American narrators; and that the origin of the Indian Americans, is yet to be traced in a quite different path to what any of thoſe hyperbolical, or wild conjectural writers have preſcribed.

The Spaniards have given us many fine poliſhed Indian orations, but they were certainly fabricated at Madrid; the Indians have no ſuch ideas, or methods of ſpeech, as they pretend to have copied from a faithful interpretation on the ſpot: however, they have religiouſly ſupported thoſe monkiſh dreams, and which are the chief baſis of their Mexican and Peruvian treaties.

According to them, the Mexican arms was an eagle on a tunal or ſtone, with a bird in his talons,—which may look at the armorial enſign of Dan. And they ſay, the Mexicans worſhipped *Vitzliputzli*, who promiſed them a land exceedingly plenty in riches, and all other good things; on which account they ſet off in queſt of the divine promiſe, four of their prieſts carrying their idol in a coffer of reeds, to whom he communicated his oracles, giving them laws at the ſame time—teaching them the ceremonies and ſacrifices they ſhould obſerve; and directed them when to march, and when to ſtay in camp, &c. So much, might have been collected from them by ſigns, and other expreſſive indications; for we are well aſſured, that the remote uncorrupted part of the Mexicans ſtill retain the ſame notions as our northern Indians, with regard to their arriving at, and ſettling in their reſpective countries, living under a theocratic government, and having the divine war-ark, as a moſt ſacred ſeal of ſucceſs to the beloved people, againſt their treacherous enemies, if they ſtrictly obſerve the law of purity, while they accompany it. This alone, without any reflection on the reſt, is a good glaſs to ſhew us, that the South and North American Indians are twin-born brothers; though the Spaniſh clergy, by their dark but fruitful inventions, have ſet them at a prodigious variance.

Acoſta tells us, that the Peruvians held a very extraordinary feaſt called *Ytu*,—which they prepared themſelves for, by faſting two days, not accompanying with their wives, nor eating ſalt-meat or garlic, nor drinking Chica during that period—that they aſſembled all together in one place, and did not allow any ſtranger or beaſt to approach them; that they had clothes and ornaments which they wore, only at that great feſtival; that they went ſilently and ſedately in proceſſion, with their heads veil'd, and drums beating—and thus continued one day and night; but the next day they danced and feaſted; and for two days ſucceſſively, their prayers and praiſes were heard. This is another ſtrong picture of the rites of the Indian North-Americans, during the time of their great feſtival, to atone for ſin; and with a little amendment, would exhibit a ſurpriſing analogy of ſundry eſſential rites and cuſtoms of the Northern and South American Indians, which equally glance at the Moſaic ſyſtem.

Lerius tells us, that he was preſent at the triennial feaſt of the Caribbians, where a multitude of men, women, and children, were aſſembled; that they ſoon divided themſelves into three orders, apart from each other, the women and children being ſtrictly ordered to ſtay within, and to attend diligently to the ſinging: that the men ſung in one houſe, *He*, *He*, *He*, while the others in their ſeparate houſes, anſwered by a repetition of the ſame notes: that having thus continued a quarter of an hour, they all danced in three different rings, each with rattles, &c. And the natives of Sir Francis Drake's New Albion, were deſirous of crowning him *Hio*, or *Ohio*, a name well known in North America, and hath an evident relation to the great beloved name. Had the former been endued with a proper capacity, and given a ſuitable attention to the Indian general law of purity, he would probably have deſcribed them ſinging *Yo-He Wah*, *Hallelu-Yah*, &c. after the preſent manner of our North-American red natives; and as giving proper names to perſons and things from a religious principle, to expreſs the relation they bore to the ſacred four-lettered name.

Theſe writers report alſo, that the Mexicans ſacrificed to the idol *Haloc*, "their God of water," to give them ſeaſonable rains for their crops: and they tell us, that the high-prieſt was anointed with holy oil, and dreſſed with pontifical ornaments, peculiar to himſelf, when he officiated in his ſacred function; that he was ſworn to maintain their religion, rights, and liberties, according to their ancient law; and to cauſe the ſun to ſhine, and all their vegetables to be properly refreſhed with gentle ſhowers. If we throw down the "monkiſh idol god of water," we here find a ſtrong parity of religious cuſtoms and ceremonies, between the pretended prophets, and high-prieſts of the preſent northern Indians, and the ancient Mexicans.

Acoſta tells us, that the Peruvians acknowledged a ſupreme God, and author of all things, whom they called *Viracocha*, and worſhipped as the chief of all the gods, and honoured when they looked at the heavens or any of the celeſtial orbs; that for want of a proper name for that divine ſpirit of the univerſe, they, after the Mexican manner, deſcribed him by his attributes,—as *Pachucamac*, "the Creator of heaven and earth." But, though he hath deſcribed them poſſeſſed of theſe ſtrong ideas of God; and to have dedicated a ſacred houſe to the great firſt cauſe, bearing his divine prolific name; yet the Spaniſh prieſthood have at the ſame time, painted them as worſhipping the devil in the very ſame temple. Here and there a truth may be found in their writings, but if we except the well-deſigned performance of Don Antonio de Ulloa, one duodecimo volume would have contained all the accounts of any curious importance, which the Spaniards have exhibited to the learned world, concerning the genuine rites and cuſtoms, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, ever ſince the ſeiſure of thoſe countries, and the horrid murders committed on the inhabitants.

But among all the Spaniſh friars, *Hieronimo Roman* was the greateſt champion in hyperbolical writing. He has produced three volumes concerning the Indian American rites and ceremonies;—he ſtretches very far in his ſecond part of the commonwealths of the world; but when he gets to Peru and Mexico, the diſtance of thoſe remote regions enables him to exceed himſelf: beyond all diſpute, the other writers of his black fraternity, are only younger brethren, when compared to him in the marvellous. His, is the chief of all the Spaniſh romances of Peru and Mexico.

He ſays, the Indian natives, from Florida to Panama, had little religion or policy; and yet he affirms a few pages after, that they believed in one true, immortal and inviſible God, reigning in heaven, called *Yocahuuagnamaorocoti*; and is ſo kind as to allow them images, prieſts, and popes, their high-prieſt being called *papa* in that language. The origin of images among them, is accounted for in a dialogue he gives us, between a ſhaking tree and one of the Indian prieſts: after a great deal of diſcourſe, the tree ordered the prieſt to cut it down, and taught him how to make images thereof, and erect a temple. The tree was obeyed, and every year their votaries ſolemnized the dedication. The good man has laboured very hard for the images, and ought to have ſuitable applauſe for ſo uſeful an invention; as it ſhews the univerſal opinion of mankind, concerning idols and images. With regard to that long conjectural divine name, by which they expreſſed the one true God, there is not the leaſt room to doubt, that the South-Americans had the divine name, *Yohewah*, in as great purity as thoſe of the north, eſpecially, as they were at the fountain head; adding to it occaſionally ſome other ſtrong compound words.

He ſays alſo, that the metropolis of *Cholola* had as many temples as there were days in the year; and that one of them was the moſt famous in the world, the baſis of the ſpire being as broad as a man could ſhoot with a croſs bow, and the ſpire itſelf three miles high. The temples which the holy man ſpeaks of, ſeem to have been only the dwelling-houſes of ſtrangers, who incorporated with the natives, differing a little in their form of ſtructure, according to the uſual cuſtom of our northern Indians: and his religious principles not allowing him to go near the reputed ſhambles of the devil, much leſs to enter the ſuppoſed territories of hell, he has done pretty well by them, in allowing them golden ſuns and moons—veſtry keepers, &c. The badneſs of his optic inſtruments, if joined with the ſuppoſed dimneſs of his ſight, may plead in excuſe for the ſpiral altitude, which he fixes at 15,480 feet; for from what we know of the northern Indians, we ought to ſtrike off the three firſt figures of its height, and the remaining 40 is very likely to have been the juſt height of the ſpire, alias the red-painted, great, *war-pole*.

The ſame writer tells us, that the Peruvian pontifical office belonged to the eldeſt ſon of the king, or ſome chief lord of the country: and that it devolved by ſucceſſion. But he anoints him after a very ſolemn manner, with an ointment which he carefully mixes with the blood of circumciſed infants. This prieſt of war dealing ſo much in blood himſelf, without doubt, ſuſpected them of the like; though at the ſame time no Indian prieſt will either ſhed, or touch human blood: but that they formerly circumciſed, may with great probability be allowed to the holy man.

The temples of Peru were built on high grounds, or tops of hills, he ſays, and were ſurrounded with four circular mounds of earth, the one riſing gradually above the other, from the outermoſt circle; and that the temple ſtood in the center of the incloſed ground, built in a quadrangular form, having altars, &c. He has officiouſly obtruded the ſun into it; perhaps, becauſe he thought it dark within. He deſcribes another religious houſe, on the eaſtern part of that great incloſure, facing the riſing ſun, to which they aſcended by ſix ſteps, where, in the hollow of a thick wall, lay the image of the ſun, &c. This thick wall having an hollow part within it, was no other than their ſanctum ſanctorum, conformably to what I obſerved, concerning the pretended holieſt place of the Muſkohge Indians. Any one who is well acquainted with the language, rites, and cuſtoms of the North-American Indians, can ſee with a glance when theſe monkiſh writers ſtumble on a truth, or ramble at large.

Acoſta ſays, that the Mexicans obſerved their chief feaſt in the month of May, and that the nuns two days before mixed a ſufficient quantity of beets with honey, and made an image of it. He trims up the idol very genteelly, and places it on an azure-coloured chair, every way becoming the ſcarlet-coloured pope. He ſoon after introduces flutes, drums, cornets, and trumpets, to celebrate the feaſt of *Eupania Vitzliputzli*, as he thinks proper to term it: on account of the nuns, he gives them *Pania*, "feminine bread," inſtead of the maſculine *Panis*; which he makes his nuns to diſtribute at this love-feaſt, to the young men, in large pieces reſembling great bones. When they receive them, they religiouſly lay them down at the feaſt of the idol, and call them the fleſh and bones of the God *Vitzliputzli*.

Then he brings in the prieſts vailed, with garlands on their heads, and chains of flowers about their necks, each of them ſtrictly obſerving their place: if the inquiſitive reader ſhould deſire to know how he diſcovered thoſe garlands and flowery chains; (eſpecially as their heads were covered, and they are ſecret in their religious ceremonies) I muſt inform him, that Acoſta wrought a kind of cotton, or woollen cloth for them, much finer than ſilk, through which he might have eaſily ſeen them—beſides, ſuch a religious dreſs gave him a better opportunity of hanging a croſs, and a ſtring of beads afterwards round their necks.

Next to thoſe religious men, he uſhers in a fine company of gods and goddeſſes, in imagery, dreſſed like the others, the people paying them divine worſhip; this without doubt, is intended to ſupport the popiſh ſaint-worſhip. Then he makes them ſing, and dance round the paſte, and uſe ſeveral other ceremonies. And when the eyes are tired with viewing thoſe wild circlings, he ſolemnly bleſſes, and conſecrates thoſe morſels of paſte, and thus makes them the real fleſh and bones of the idol, which the people honour as gods. When he has ended his feaſt of tranſubſtantiation, he ſets his ſacrificers to work, and orders them to kill and ſacrifice more men than at any other feſtival,—as he thinks proper to make this a greater carnival than any of the reſt.

When he comes to finiſh his bloody ſacrifices, he orders the young men and women into two rows, directly facing each other, to dance and ſing by the drums, in praiſe of the feaſt and the god; and he ſets the oldeſt and the greateſt men to anſwer the ſong, and dance around them, in a great circle. This with a little alteration, reſembles the cuſtom of the northern Indians. He ſays, that all the inhabitants of the city and country came to this great feaſt,—that it was deemed ſacrilegious in any perſon to eat of the honeyed paſte, on this great feſtival-day, or to drink water, till the afternoon; and that they earneſtly adviſed thoſe, who had the uſe of reaſon, to abſtain from water till the afternoon, and carefully concealed it from the children during the time of this ceremony. But, at the end of the feaſt, he makes the prieſts and ancients of the temple to break the image of paſte and conſecrated rolls, into many pieces, and give them to the people by the way of ſacrament, according to the ſtricteſt rules of order, from the greateſt and eldeſt, to the youngeſt and leaſt, men, women and children: and he ſays, they received it with bitter tears, great reverence, and a very awful fear, with other ſtrong ſigns of devotion, ſaying at the ſame time,—“they did not eat the fleſh and bones of their God.” He adds, that they who had ſick people at home, demanded a piece of the ſaid paſte, and carried and gave it to them, with the moſt profound reverence and awful adoration; that all who partook of this propitiating ſacrifice, were obliged to give a part of the ſeed of Maiz, of which the idol was made; and then at the end of the ſolemnity, a prieſt of high authority preached to the people on their laws and ceremonies, with a commanding voice, and expreſſive geſtures; and thus diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Well may Acoſta blame the devil in the manner he does, for introducing among the Mexicans, ſo near a reſemblance of the popiſh ſuperſtitions and idolatry. But whether ſhall we blame or pity this writer, for obſcuring the truth with a confuſed heap of falſhoods? The above is however a curious Spaniſh picture of the Mexican paſſover, or annual expiation of ſins, and of their ſecond paſſover in favour of their ſick people,—and of paying their tythes,—according to ſimilar cuſtoms of our North-American Indians. We are now ſufficiently informed of the rites and cuſtoms of the remote, and uncorrupt South-Americans, by the Miſſiſippi Indians, who have a communication with them, both in peace and war.

Ribault Laudon deſcribing the yearly feſtival of the Floridans, ſays, that the day before it began, the women ſweeped out a great circuit of ground, where it was obſerved with ſolemnity;—that when the main body of the people entered the holy ground, they all placed themſelves in good order, ſtood up painted, and decked in their beſt apparel, when three *Iawas*, or prieſts, with different paintings and geſtures followed them, playing on muſical inſtruments, and ſinging with a ſolemn voice—the others anſwering them: that when they made three circles in this manner, the men ran off to the woods, and the women ſtaid weeping behind, cutting their arms with muſcle-ſhells, and throwing the blood towards the ſun; and that when the men returned, the three days feaſt was finiſhed. This is another confuſed Spaniſh draught of the Floridan paſſover, or feaſt of love; and of their univerſal method of bleeding themſelves after much exerciſe, which according to the Spaniſh plan, they offered up to the ſun. From theſe different writers, it is plain that where the Indians have not been corrupted by foreigners, their cuſtoms and religious worſhip are nearly alike; and alſo that every different tribe, or nation of Indians, uſes ſuch-like divine proper name, and awful ſounds, as *Yah-Wah*, *Hetovah*, &c. being tranſpoſitions of the divine eſſential name, as our northern Indians often repeat in their religious dances. As the ſound of *Yah-wah* jarred in Laudon's ear, he called it *Java*, in reſemblance to the Syriac and Greek method of expreſſing the tetra-grammaton, from which Galatinus impoſed it upon us, calling it *Jehowah*, inſtead of *Yohewah*.

The Spaniſh writers tell us, that the Mexicans had a feaſt, and month, which they called *Hueitozolti*, when the maiz was ripe; every man at that time bringing an handful to be offered at the temple, with a kind of drink, called *Utuli*, made out of the ſame grain.—But they ſoon deck up an idol with roſes, garlands, and flowers, and deſcribe them as offering to it ſweet gums, &c. Then they ſpeedily dreſs a woman with the apparel of either the god, or goddeſs, of ſalt, which muſt be to ſeaſon the human ſacrifices, as they depicture them according to their own diſpoſitions. But they ſoon change the ſcene, and bring in the god of gain, in a rich temple dedicated to him, where the merchants apart ſacrifice vaſt numbers of purchaſed captives. It often chagrines an inquiſitive and impartial reader to trace the contradictions, and chimerical inventions, of thoſe aſpiring bigoted writers; who ſpeak of what they did not underſtand, only by ſigns, and a few chance words. The diſcerning reader can eaſily perceive them from what hath been already ſaid, and muſt know that this Spaniſh mountain in labour, is only the Indian firſt fruit-offering, according to the uſage of our North-American Indians.

It is to be lamented that writers will not keep to matters of fact: Some of our own hiſtorians have deſcribed the Mohawks as cannibals, and continually hunting after man's fleſh; with equal truth Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others report, that in Britain there were formerly Anthropophagi, "man-eaters."

Garcillaſſo de La Vega, another Spaniſh romancer, ſays, that the Peruvian ſhepherds worſhipped the ſtar called Lyra, as they imagined it preſerved their flocks: but he ought firſt to have ſupplied them with flocks, for they had none except a kind of wild ſheep, that kept in the mountains, and which are of ſo fætid a ſmell, that no creature is fond to approach them.

The ſame aſpiring fictitious writer tells us, the Peruvians worſhipped the Creator of the world, whom he is pleaſed to call *Viracocha Pachuyacha-ha hic*: any perſon who is in the leaſt acquainted with the rapid flowing manner of the Indian American dialects, will conclude from the wild termination that the former is not the Peruvian divine name. Next to this great Creator of the univerſe, he affirms, they worſhipped the ſun; and next to the ſolar orb, they deified and worſhipped thunder, believing it proceeded from a man in heaven, who had power over the rain, hail, and thunder, and every thing in the ærial regions; and that they offered up ſacrifices to it, but none to the univerſal Creator. To prefer the effect to the acknowledged prime cauſe, is contrary to the common reaſon of mankind, who adore that object which they eſteem either the moſt beneficent, or the moſt powerful.

Monſieur Le Page Du Pratz tells us, he lived ſeven years among the Nachee Indians, about one hundred leagues up the Miſſiſippi from New-Orleans; and in order to emulate the Spaniſh romances of the Indians, in his performance, he affirms their women are double-breaſted, which he particularly deſcribes: and then following the Spaniſh copy, he aſſures us, the higheſt rank of their nobles is called ſuns, and that they only attend the ſacred and eternal fire; which he doubtleſs mentioned, merely to introduce his convex lens, by which he tells us with a great air of confidence, he gained much eſteem among them, as by the gift of it, he enabled them to continue their holy fire, if it ſhould caſually be near extinguiſhed. According to him, the Chikkaſah tongue was the court language of the Miſſiſippi Indians, and that it had not the letter *R.*—The very reverſe of which is the truth; for the French and all their red ſavages were at conſtant war with them, becauſe of their firm connection with the Engliſh, and hated their national name; and as to the language, they could not converſe with them, as their dialects are ſo different from each other. I recited a long ſtring of his well-known ſtories to a body of gentlemen, well ſkilled in the languages, rites, and cuſtoms of our Eaſt and Weſt-Florida Indians, and they agreed that the Koran did not differ more widely from the divine oracles, than the accounts of this writer from the genuine cuſtoms of the Indian Americans.

The Spaniſh artiſts have furniſhed the ſavage war-chieftain, or their Emperor Montezuma, with very ſpacious and beautiful palaces, one of which they raiſed on pillars of fine jaſper; and another wrought with exquiſite ſkill out of marble, jaſper, and other valuable ſtones, with veins gliſtering like rubies,—they have finiſhed the roof with equal ſkill, compoſed of carved and painted cypreſs, cedar, and pine-trees, without any kind of nails. They ſhould have furniſhed ſome of the chambers with ſuitable pavilions and beds of ſtate; but the bedding and furniture in our northern Indian huts, is the ſame with what they were pleaſed to deſcribe, in the wonderful Mexican palaces. In this they have not done juſtice to the grand red monarch, whom they raiſed up, (with his 1000 women, or 3000 according to ſome,) only to magnify the Spaniſh power by overthrowing him.

Montezuma in an oration to his people, at the arrival of the Spaniards, is ſaid by Malvendar, to have perſuaded his people to yield to the power of his Catholic Majeſty's arms, for their own fore-fathers were ſtrangers in that land, and brought there long before that period in a fleet. The emperor, who they pretend bore ſuch univerſal arbitrary ſway, is raiſed by their pens, from the uſual rank of a war chieftain, to his imperial greatneſs: But deſpotic power is death to their ears, as it is deſtructive of their darling liberty, and reputed theocratic government; they have no name for a ſubject, but ſay, "the people." In order to carry on the ſelf-flattering war-romance, they began the epocha of that great fictitious empire, in the time of the ambitious and formidable Montezuma, that their handful of heaven-favoured popiſh ſaints might have the more honour in deſtroying it: had they deſcribed it of a long continuance, they foreſaw that the world would detect the fallacy, as ſoon as they learned the language of the pretended empire; correſpondent to which, our own great Emperor Powhatan of Virginia, was ſoon dethroned. We are ſufficiently informed by the rambling Miſſiſippi Indians, that *Motehſhuma* is a common high war-name of the South-American leaders; and which the fate he is ſaid to receive, ſtrongly corroborates. Our Indians urge with a great deal of vehemence, that as every one is promoted only by public virtue, and has his equals in civil and martial affairs, thoſe Spaniſh books that have mentioned red emperors, and great empires in America, ought to be burnt in ſome of the remaining old years accurſed fire. And this Indian fixed opinion ſeems to be ſufficiently confirmed by the ſituation of Mexico, as it is only about 315 miles from ſouth to north; and narrower than 200 miles along the northern coaſt—and lies between Tlaſcala and Mechoacan, to the weſt of the former, and eaſt of the latter, whence the Mexicans were continually harraſſed by thoſe lurking ſwift-footed ſavages, who could ſecure their retreat home, in the ſpace of two or three days. When we conſider the vicinity of thoſe two inimical ſtates to the pretended puiſſant empire of Mexico, which might have eaſily cruſhed them to pieces, with her formidable armies, in order to ſecure the lives of the ſubjects, and credit of the ſtate, we may ſafely venture to affirm, from the long train of circumſtances already exhibited, that the Spaniſh Peruvian and Mexican empires are without the leaſt foundation in nature; and that the Spaniards defeated the tribe of Mexico (properly called *Mechiko*) &c. chiefly, by the help of their red allies.

In their deſcriptions of South-America and its native inhabitants, they treat largely of heaven, hell, and purgatory; lions, ſalamanders, maids of honour, maids of penance, and their abbeſſes; men whipping themſelves with cords; idols, mattins, monaſtic vows, cloiſters of young men, with a prodigious group of other popiſh inventions: and we muſt not forget to do juſtice to thoſe induſtrious and ſagacious obſervers, who diſcovered two golgothas, or towers made of human ſkulls, plaiſtered with lime. Acoſta tells us, that Andrew de Topia aſſured him, he and Gonſola de Vimbria reckoned one hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand human ſkulls in them. The temple dedicated to the air, is likewiſe worthy of being mentioned, as they aſſert in the ſtrongeſt manner, that five thouſand prieſts ſerved conſtantly in it, and obliged every one who entered, to bring ſome human ſacrifice; that the walls of it were an inch thick, and the floor a foot deep, with black, dry, clotted blood. If connected herewith, we reflect, that beſide this blood-thirſty god of the air, the Spaniards have repreſented them as worſhipping a multitude of idol gods and goddeſſes, (no leſs than two thouſand according to Lopez de Gomara) and ſacrificing to them chiefly human victims; and that the friars are reported by a Spaniſh biſhop of Mexico, in his letters of the year 1532, to have broken down twenty thouſand idols, and deſolated five hundred idol temples, where the natives ſacrificed every year more than twenty thouſand hearts of boys and girls; and that if the noblemen were burnt to aſhes, they killed their cooks, butlers, chaplains, and dwarfs *—and had a plenty of targets, maces, and enſigns hurled into their funeral piles: this terrible ſlaughter, points out to us clearly from their own accounts, that theſe authors either gave the world a continued chain of falſehoods, or thoſe ſacrifices, and human maſſacres they boaſtingly tell us of, would have, long before they came, utterly depopulated Peru and Mexico.

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* With regard to Indian dwarfs, I never heard of, or ſaw any in the northern nations, but one in Iſhtatoe, a northern town of the middle part of the Cheerake country,—and he was a great beloved man.

I ſhall now quote a little of their leſs romantic deſcription, to confirm the account I have given concerning the genuine rites, and cuſtoms, of our North-American Indians.

The ornaments of the Indians of South and North America, were formerly, and ſtill are alike, without the leaſt difference, except in value. Thoſe ſuperficial writers agree, that the men and women of Peru and Mexico wore golden ear-rings, and bracelets around their necks and wriſts; that the men wore rings of the ſame metal in their noſe, marked their bodies with various figures, painted their faces red, and the women their cheeks, which ſeems to have been a very early and general cuſtom. They tell us, that the coronation of the Indian kings, and inſtallment of their nobles, was ſolemnized with comedies, banquets, lights, &c. and that no plebeians were allowed to ſerve before their kings; they muſt be knights, or noblemen. All thoſe founding high titles are only a confuſed picture of the general method of the Indians in crowning their warriors, performing their war-dances, and eſteeming thoſe fellows as old women, who never attended the reputed holy ark with ſucceſs for the beloved brethren.

Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us, that ſome of the South-American natives cut the lobes of their ears, and for a conſiderable time, faſtened ſmall weights to them, in order to lengthen them; that others cut holes in their upper and under lips; through the cartilege of the noſe, their chins, and jaws, and either hung or thruſt through them, ſuch things as they moſt fancied, which alſo agrees with the ancient cuſtoms of our Northern Indians.

Emanuel de Moraes and Acoſta affirm, that the Braſilians marry in their own family, or tribe. And Jo. de Laet. ſays, they call their uncles and aunts, "fathers and mothers," which is a cuſtom of the Hebrews, and of all our North-American Indians: and he aſſures us they mourn very much for their dead; and that their clothes are like thoſe of the early Jews.

Ulloa aſſures us, that the South American Indians have no other method of weaving carpets, quilts, and other ſtuffs, but to count the threads one by one, when they are paſſing the woof; — that they ſpin cotton and linnen, as their chief manufacture, and paint their cloth with the images of men, beaſts, birds, fiſhes, trees, flowers, &c. and that each of thoſe webs was adapted to one certain uſe, without being cut, and that their patience was equal to ſo arduous a taſk. According to this deſcription, there is not the leaſt diſparity between the ancient North-American method of manufacturing, and that of the South Americans.

Acoſta writes, that the clothes of the South-American Indians are ſhaped like thoſe of the ancient Jews, being a ſquare little cloak, and a little coat: and the Rev. Mr. Thorowgood, anno 1650, obſerves, that this is a proof of ſome weight in ſhewing their original deſcent; eſpecially to ſuch who pay a deference to Seneca's parallel arguments of the Spaniards having ſettled Italy; for the old mode of dreſs is univerſally alike, among the Indian Americans.

Laet. in his deſcription of America, and Eſcarbotus, aſſure us, they often heard the South American Indians to repeat the ſacred word *Halleluiah*, which made them admire how they firſt attained it. And Malvenda ſays, that the natives of St. Michael had tomb-ſtones, which the Spaniards digged up, with ſeveral ancient Hebrew characters upon them, as, "Why is God gone away?" And, "He is dead, God knows." Had his curioſity induced him to tranſcribe the epitaph, it would have given more ſatisfaction; for, as they yet repeat the divine eſſential name, *Yo He (ta) Wah*, ſo as not to prophane it, when they mourn for their dead, it is probable, they could write or engrave it, after the like manner, when they firſt arrived on this main continent.

We are told, that the South American Indians have a firm hope of the reſurrection of their bodies, at a certain period of time; and that on this account they bury their moſt valuable treaſures with their dead, as well as the moſt uſeful conveniencies for future domeſtic life, ſuch as their bows and arrows: And when they ſaw the Spaniards digging up their graves for gold and ſilver, they requeſted them to forbear ſcattering the bones of their dead in that manner, leſt it ſhould prevent their being raiſed and united again *.

Monſieur de Poutrincourt ſays, that, when the Canada Indians ſaluted him, they ſaid *Ho Ho Ho*; but as we are well aſſured, they expreſs *Yo He a Ah*, in the time of their feſtivals and other rejoicings, we have reaſon to conclude he made a very material miſtake in ſetting down the Indian ſolemn bleſſing, or invocation. He likewiſe tells us, that the Indian women will not marry on the graves of their huſbands, i. e. "ſoon after their deceaſe,"—but wait a long time before they even think of a ſecond huſband. That, if the huſband was killed, they would neither enter into a ſecond marriage, nor eat fleſh, till his blood had been revenged: and that after child-bearing, they obſerve the Moſaic law of purification, ſhutting up themſelves from their huſbands, for the ſpace of forty days.

Peter Martyr writes, that the Indian widow married the brother of her deceaſed huſband, according to the Moſaic law: and he ſays, the Indians worſhip that God who created the ſun, moon, and all inviſible things, and who gives them every thing that is good. He affirms the Indian prieſts had chambers in the temple, according to the cuſtom of the Iſraelites, by divine appointment, as 1 Chron. ix. 26, 27. And that there were certain places in it, which none but their prieſts could enter, i. e. "the holieſt." And Key ſays alſo, they have in ſome parts of America, an exact form of king, prieſt, and prophet, as was formerly in Canaan.

Robert Williams, the firſt Engliſhman in New-England, who is ſaid to have learned the Indian language, in order to convert the natives, believed them to be Jews: and he aſſures us, that their tradition records that their anceſtors came from the ſouth-weſt, and that they return there at death; that their women ſeparate themſelves from the reſt of the people at certain periods; and that their language bore ſome affinity to the Hebrew.

Baron Lahontan writes, that the Indian women of Canada purify themſelves after travail; thirty days for a male child—and forty for a female: that during the ſaid time, they live apart from their huſband—that the unmarried brother of the deceaſed huſband marries the widow, ſix months after his deceaſe; and that the outſtanding parties for war, addreſs the great ſpirit every day till they ſet off, with ſacrifices, ſongs, and feaſting.

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* Vid. Ceuto ad Solin. Benz. & Hiſt. Peruv.

We are alſo told, that the men in Mexico ſat down, and the women ſtood, when they made water, which is an univerſal cuſtom among our North-American Indians. Their primitive modeſty, and indulgence to their women, ſeem to have introduced this ſingular cuſtom, after the manner of the ancient Mauritanians, on account of their ſcantineſs of clothing, as I formerly obſerved.

Lerius tells us, that the Indians of Braſil waſh themſelves ten times a day; and that the huſbands have no matrimonial intercouſe with their wives, till their children are either weaned, or grown pretty hardy; which is ſimilar to the cuſtom of theſe northern Indians, and that of the Iſraelites, as Hoſ. i. 8. He ſays, if a Peruvian child was weaned before its time, it was called *Ainſco*, "a baſtard." And that if a Braſilian wounds another, he is wounded in the ſame part of the body, with equal puniſhment; limb for limb, or life for life, according to the Moſaic law;—which, within our own memory, theſe Indian nations obſerved ſo eagerly, that if a boy ſhooting at birds, accidentally wounded another, though out of ſight, with his arrow ever ſo ſlightly, he, or any of his family, wounded him after the very ſame manner; which is a very ſtriking analogy with the Jewiſh retaliation. He likewiſe tells us, that their Sachems, or Emperors, were the heads of their church: and according to Laet. Deſcript. America, the Peruvians had one temple conſecrated to the creator of the world; beſides four other religious places, in reſemblance of the Jewiſh ſynagogues. And Malvenda ſays, the American idols were mitred, as Aaron was. He likewiſe affirms, as doth Acoſta, that the natives obſerved a year of jubilee, according to the uſage of the Iſraelites.

Benzo ſays, that the men and women incline very much to dancing; and the women often by themſelves, according to the manner of the Hebrew nation; as in 1 Sam. xxi. 11. eſpecially after gaining a victory over the enemy, as in Judg. xi. 34.—xxi. 21. 23, and 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7. Acoſta tells us, that though adultery is deemed by them a capital crime, yet they at the ſame time ſet little value by virginity, and it ſeems to have been a bewailable condition, in Judea. He likewiſe ſays, they waſh their new born infants, in reſemblance of the Moſaic law; as Ezek. xvi. 9. And the Spaniards ſay, that the prieſts of Mexico, were anointed from head to foot; that they conſtantly wore their hair, till they were ſuperannuated; and that the huſband did not lie with his wife, for two years after ſhe was delivered. Our northern Indians imitate the firſt cuſtom; though in the ſecond, they reſemble that of the heathen by polling or trimming their hair; and with regard to the third, they always ſleep apart from their wives, for the greater part of a year, after delivery.

By the Spaniſh authorities, the Peruvians and Mexicans were Polygamiſts, but they had one principal wife, to whom they were married with certain ſolemnities; and murder, adultery, theft, and inceſt, were puniſhed with death.—But there was an exception in ſome places, with regard to inceſtuous intercourſes: which is intirely conſonant to the uſage of the northern Indians. For as to inceſt, the Cheerake marry both mother and daughter, or two ſiſters; but they all obſerve the prohibited laws of conſanguinity, in the ſtricteſt manner. They tell us, that when the prieſts offered ſacrifice, they abſtained from women and ſtrong drink, and faſted ſeveral days, before any great feſtival; that all of them buried their dead in their houſes, or in high places; that when they were forced to bury in any of the Spaniſh church-yards, they frequently ſtole the corpſe, and interred it either in one of their own houſes, or in the mountains; and that Juan de la Torre took five hundred thouſand Pezoes out of one tomb. Here is a long train of Iſraelitiſh cuſtoms: and, if we include the whole, they exhibit a very ſtrong analogy between all the eſſential traditions, rites, cuſtoms, &c. of the South and North American Indians; though the Spaniards mix an innumerable heap of abſurd chimeras, and romantic dreams, with the plain material truths I have extracted.

I lately peruſed the firſt volume of the Hiſtory of North-America, from the diſcovery thereof by Sylvanus Americanus, printed in New Jerſey, Anno 1761, from, I believe, the Philadelphia monthly paper—and was not a little ſurpriſed to find in ſuch a uſeful collection, the conjectural, though perhaps well-intended accounts of the firſt adventurers, and ſettlers, in North-America, concerning the natives: and which are laid as the only baſis for inquiſitive writers to trace their origin, inſtead of later and more ſubſtantial obſervations. Though ſeveral of thoſe early writers were undoubtedly ſagacious, learned, and candid; yet under the circumſtances in which they wrote, it was impoſſible for them to convey to us any true knowledge of the Indians, more than what they gained by their ſenſes, which muſt be ſuperficial, and liable to many errors. Their conjectural accounts ought to have been long ſince examined, by ſome of that learned body, or they ſhould not have given a ſanction to them. However, they are leſs faulty than the Spaniſh accounts.

I preſume, enough hath been ſaid to point out the ſimilarity between the rites and cuſtoms of the native American Indians, and thoſe of the Iſraelites.—And that the Indian ſyſtem is derived from the moral, ceremonial, and judicial laws of the Hebrews, though now but a faint copy of the divine original.—Their religious rites, martial cuſtoms, dreſs, muſic, dances, and domeſtic forms of life, ſeem clearly to evince alſo, that they came to America in early times, before ſects had ſprung up among the Jews, which was ſoon after their prophets ceaſed, and before arts and ſciences had arrived to any perfection; otherwiſe, it is likely they would have retained ſome knowledge of them, at leaſt where they firſt ſettled, it being in a favourable climate, and conſequently, they were in a more compact body, than on this northern part of the American continent.

The South-American natives wanted nothing that could render life eaſy and agreeable: and they had nothing ſuperfluous, except gold and ſilver. When we conſider the ſimplicity of the people, and the ſkill they had in collecting a prodigious quantity of treaſures, it ſeems as if they gained that ſkill from their countrymen, and the Tyrians; who in the reign of Solomon exceedingly enriched themſelves, in a few voyages. The conjecture that the aborigines wandered here from captivity, by the north eaſt parts of Aſia, over Kamſchatſka, to have their liberty and religion; is not ſo improbable, as that of their being driven by ſtreſs of weather into the bay of Mexico, from the eaſt.

Though a ſingle argument of the general ſubject, may prove but little, disjoined from the reſt; yet, according to the true laws of hiſtory, and the beſt rules for tracing antiquities, the concluſion is to be drawn from clear correſponding circumſtances united: the force of one branch of the ſubject ought to be connected with the others, and then judge by the whole. Such readers as may diſſent from my opinion of the Indian American origin and deſcent, ought to inform us how the natives came here, and by what means they formed the long chain of rites, cuſtoms, &c. ſo ſimilar to the uſage of the Hebrew nation, and in general diſſimilar to the modes, &c. of the Pagan world.

Ancient writers do not agree upon any certain place, where the Ophir of Solomon lay; it muſt certainly be a great diſtance from Joppa, for it was a three years voyage. After the death of Solomon, both the Iſraelites and Tyrians ſeem to have utterly diſcontinued their trading voyages to that part of the world. Euſebius and Eupolemus ſay, that David ſent to Urphe, an iſland in the red ſea, and brought much gold into Judea; and Ortelius reckons this to have been Ophir: though, agreeably to the opinion of the greater part of the modern literati, he alſo conjectures Cephala, or Sophala, to have been the Ophir of Solomon. Junius imagines it was in Aurea Cherſoneſus; Tremellius and Niger are of the ſame opinion. But Vatablus reckons it was Hiſpaniola, diſcovered, and named ſo by Columbus: yet Poſtellus, Phil. Mornay, Arias Montanus, and Goropius, are of opinion that Peru is the ancient Ophir; ſo widely different are their conjectures. Ancient hiſtory is quite ſilent, concerning America; which indicates that it has been time immemorial rent aſunder from the African continent, according to Plato's Timeus. The north-eaſt parts of Aſia alſo were undiſcovered, till of late. Many geographers have ſtretched Aſia and America ſo far, as to join them together: and others have divided thoſe two quarters of the globe, at a great diſtance from each other. But the Ruſſians, after ſeveral dangerous attempts, have clearly convinced the world, that they are now divided, and yet have a near communication together, by a narrow ſtrait, in which ſeveral iſlands are ſituated; through which there is an eaſy paſſage from the north-eaſt of Aſia to the north-weſt of America by the way of Kamſchatſka; which probably joined to the north-weſt point of America. By this paſſage, ſuppoſing the main continents were ſeparated, it was very practicable for the inhabitants to go to this extenſive new world; and afterwards, to have proceeded in queſt of ſuitable climates,—according to the law of nature, that directs every creature to ſuch climes as are moſt convenient and agreeable.

Having endeavoured to aſcertain the origin and deſcent of the North-American Indians—and produced a variety of arguments that incline my own opinion in favour of their being of Jewiſh extraction—which at the ſame time furniſh the public with a more complete INDIAN SYSTEM of religious rites, civil and martial cuſtoms, language, &c. &c. than hath ever been exhibited, neither disfigured by fable, nor prejudice—I ſhall proceed to give a general hiſtorical deſcription of thoſe Indian nations among whom I have chiefly reſided.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

KATAHBA, CHEERAKE, MUSKOHGE, CHOKTAH, AND CHIKKASAH NATIONS:

WITH

OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS

ON

Their LAWS, and the Conduct of our GOVERNORS, SUPERINTENDANTS, MISSIONARIES, &c. towards them.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

KATAHBA NATION, &c.

I BEGIN with the Katahba, becauſe their country is the moſt contiguous to Charles-Town in South-Carolina. It is placed in our modern maps, in 34 degrees north latitude, but proper care hath not yet been taken to aſcertain the limits and ſite of any of the Indian nations. It is bounded on the north and north-eaſt, by North-Carolina—on the eaſt and ſouth, by South-Carolina—and about weſt-ſouth-weſt by the Cheerake nation. Their chief ſettlement is at the diſtance of one hundred and forty-five miles from the Cheerake, as near as I can compute it by frequent journies, and about 200 miles diſtant from Charles-Town.

Their ſoil is extremely good; the climate open and healthy; the water very clear, and well-taſted. The chief part of the Katahba country, I obſerved during my reſidence with them, was ſettled cloſe on the eaſt ſide of a broad purling river, that heads in the great blue ridge of mountains, and empties itſelf into Santee-river, at Amelia townſhip; then running eaſtward of Charles-town, diſgorges itſelf into the Atlantic. The land would produce any ſort of Indian proviſions, but, by the continual paſſing and repaſſing of the Engliſh, between the northern and ſouthern colonies, the Katahba live perhaps the meaneſt of any Indians belonging to the Britiſh American empire. They are alſo ſo corrupted by an immoderate uſe of our ſpirituous liquors, and of courſe, indolent, that they ſcarcely plant any thing fit for the ſupport of human life. South-Carolina has ſupplied their wants, either through a political, or charitable view; which kindneſs, ſeveral reſpectable inhabitants in their neighbourhood ſay, they abuſe in a very high degree; for they often deſtroy the white people's live ſtock, and even kill their horſes for miſchief ſake.

It was bad policy of a prime magiſtrate of South-Carolina, who a little more than twenty years ago, deſired me to endeavour to decoy the Chikkaſah nation to ſettle near New-Windſor, or Savanna town. For the Indians will not live peaceable with a mixed ſociety of people. It is too recent to need enlarging on, that the Engliſh inhabitants were at ſundry times forced by neceſſity, to take ſhelter in New-Windſor and Auguſta garriſons, at the alarm of the cannon, to ſave themſelves from about an hundred of the Chikkaſah, who formerly ſettled there, by the inticement of our traders: the two colonies of South-Carolina and Georgia were obliged on this occaſion to ſend up a number of troops, either to drive them off, or check their inſolence. By ſome fatality, they are much addicted to exceſſive drinking, and ſpirituous liquors diſtract them ſo exceedingly, that they will even eat live coals of fire. Harſh uſage alone, will never ſubdue an Indian: and too much indulgence is as bad; for then they would think, what was an effect of politic friendſhip, proceeded from a tribute of fear. We may obſerve of them as of the fire, " it is ſafe and uſeful, cheriſhed at proper diſtance; but if too near us, it becomes dangerous, and will ſcorch if not conſume us."

We are not acquainted with any ſavages of ſo warlike a diſpoſition, as the Katahba and the Chikkaſah. The ſix united northern nations have been time immemorial engaged in a bitter war with the former, and the Katahba are now reduced to very few above one hundred fighting men—the ſmall pox, and intemperate drinking, have contributed however more than their wars to their great decay. When South-Carolina was in its infant ſtate, they muſtered fifteen hundred fighting men: and they always behaved as faithful and friendly to the Engliſh as could be reaſonably expected, from cunning, ſuſpicious, and free ſavages. About the year 1743, their nation conſiſted of almoſt 400 warriors, of above twenty different dialects. I ſhall mention a few of the national names of thoſe, who make up this mixed language;—the *Kátahba*, is the ſtandard, or court-dialect — the *Wataree*, who make up a large town; *Eenó*,

Charàh,

wah, now *Chowan*, *Canggaree*, *Nachee*, *Yamaſee*, *Cooſah*, &c. Their country had an old waſte field of ſeven miles extent, and ſeveral others of ſmaller dimenſions; which ſhews that they were formerly a numerous people, to cultivate ſo much land with their dull ſtone-axes, before they had an opportunity of trading with the Engliſh, or allowed others to incorporate with them.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CHEERAKE NATION, &c.

WE ſhall now treat of the Cheerake nation, as the next neighbour to South-Carolina.

Their national name is derived from *Chee-ra*, "fire," which is their reputed lower heaven, and hence they call their magi, *Cheerà-tahge*, "men poſſeſſed of the divine fire. The country lies in about 34 degrees north latitude, at the diſtance of 340 computed miles to the north-weſt of Charles-town,—140 miles weſt-ſouth-weſt from the Katahba nation,—and almoſt 200 miles to the north of the Muſkohge or Creek country.

They are ſettled, nearly in an eaſt and weſt courſe, about 140 miles in length from the lower towns where Fort-Prince-George ſtands, to the late unfortunate Fort-Loudon. The natives make two diviſions of their country, which they term *Ayrate*, and *Ottare*, ſignifying "low," and "mountainous." The former diviſion is on the head branches of the beautiful Savannah river, and the latter on thoſe of the eaſternmoſt river of the great Miſſiſippi. Their towns are always cloſe to ſome river, or creek; as there the land is commonly very level and fertile, on account of the frequent waſhings off the mountains, and the moiſture it receives from the waters, that run through their fields. And ſuch a ſituation enables them to perform the ablutions, connected with their religious worſhip.

The eaſtern, or lower parts of this country, are ſharp and cold to a Carolinian in winter, and yet agreeable: but thoſe towns that lie among the

Apalahche mountains, are very pinching to ſuch who are unaccuſtomed to a ſavage life. The ice and ſnow continue on the north-ſide, till late in the ſpring of the year: however, the natives are well provided for it, by their bathing and anointing themſelves. This regimen ſhuts up the pores of the body, and by that means prevents too great a perſpiration; and an accuſtomed exerciſe of hunting, joined with the former, puts them far above their climate: they are almoſt as impenetrable to cold, as a bar of ſteel, and the ſevereſt cold is no detriment to their hunting.

Formerly, the Cheerake were a very numerous and potent nation. Not above forty years ago, they had 64 towns and villages, populous, and full of women and children. According to the computation of the moſt intelligent old traders of that time, they amounted to upwards of ſix-thouſand fighting men; a prodigious number to have ſo cloſe on our ſettlements, defended by blue-topped ledges of inacceſſible mountains: where, but three of them can make a ſucceſsful campaign, even againſt their own watchful red-colour enemies. But they were then ſimple, and peaceable, to what they are now.

As their weſtern, or upper towns, which are ſituated among the Apalahche-mountains, on the eaſtern branches of the Miſſiſippi, were alway engaged in hot war with the more northern Indians; and the middle and lower towns in conſtant hoſtility with the Muſkohge, till reconciled by a governor of South-Carolina for the ſake of trade,—ſeveral of their beſt towns, on the ſouthern branch of Savanah-river, are now forſaken and deſtroyed: as *Iſhtatohe*, *Echia*, *Toogalo*, &c. and they are brought into a narrower compaſs. At the concluſion of our laſt war with them, the traders calculated the number of their warriors to conſiſt of about two thouſand three-hundred, which is a great diminution for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: and if we may conjecture for futurity, from the circumſtances already paſt, there will be few of them alive, after the like revolution of time. Their towns are ſtill ſcattered wide of each other, becauſe the land will not admit any other ſettlement: it is a rare thing to ſee a level tract of four hundred acres. They are alſo ſtrongly attached to rivers,—all retaining the opinion of the ancients, that rivers are neceſſary to conſtitute a paradiſe. Nor is it only ornamental, but likewiſe beneficial to them, on account of purifying themſelves, and alſo for the ſervices of common life,—ſuch as fiſhing,

fowling,

fowling, and killing of deer, which come in the warm ſeaſon, to eat the ſaltiſh moſs and graſs, which grow on the rocks, and under the ſurface of the waters. Their rivers are generally very ſhallow, and pleaſant to the eye; for the land being high, the waters have a quick deſcent; they ſeldom overflow their banks, unleſs when a heavy rain falls on a deep ſnow. —Then, it is frightful to ſee the huge pieces of ice, mixed with a prodigious torrent of water, rolling down the high mountains, and over the ſteep craggy rocks, ſo impetuous, that nothing can reſiſt their force. Two old traders ſaw an inſtance of this kind, which ſwept away great plantations of oaks and pines, that had their foundation as in the center of the earth. —It overſet ſeveral of the higher rocks, where the huge rafts of trees and ice had ſtopped up the main channel, and forced itſelf acroſs through the ſmaller hills.

From the hiſtorical deſcriptions of the Alps, and a perſonal view of the Cheerake mountains—I conclude the Alps of Italy are much inferior to ſeveral of the Cheerake mountains, both in height and rockineſs: the laſt are alſo of a prodigious extent, and frequently impaſſable by an enemy. The *Allegeny*, or "great blue ridge," commonly called the *Apalahche*-mountains, are here above a hundred miles broad; and by the beſt accounts we can get from the Miſſiſippi Indians, run along between Peru and Mexico, unleſs where the large rivers occaſion a break. They ſtretch alſo all the way from the weſt of the northern great lakes, near Hudſon's Bay, and acroſs the Miſſiſippi, about 250 leagues above New-Orleans. In the lower and middle parts of this mountainous ragged country, the Indians have a convenient paſſable path, by the foot of the mountains: but farther in, they are of ſuch a prodigious height, that they are forced to wind from north to ſouth, along the rivers and large creeks, to get a ſafe paſſage: and the paths are ſo ſteep in many places, that the horſes often pitch, and rear an end, to ſcramble up. Several of the mountains are ſome miles from bottom to top, according to the aſcent of the paths: and there are other mountains I have ſeen from theſe, when out with the Indians in clear weather, that the eye can but faintly diſcern, which therefore muſt be at a ſurpriſing diſtance.

Where the land is capable of cultivation, it would produce any thing ſuitable to the climate. Hemp, and wine-grapes grow there to admiration:

they have plenty of the former, and a variety of the latter that grow ſpontaneouſly. If theſe were properly cultivated, there muſt be a good return. I have gathered good hops in the woods oppoſite to Nuquoſe, where our troops were repelled by the Cheerake, in the year 1760. There is not a more healthful region under the ſun, than this country; for the air is commonly open and clear, and plenty of wholeſome and pleaſant water. I know ſeveral bold rivers, that fill themſelves in running about thirty miles, counting by a direct courſe from their ſeveral different fountains, and which are almoſt as tranſparent as glaſs. The natives live commonly to a great age; which is not to be wondered at, when we conſider the high ſituation of their country,—the exerciſes they purſue,—the richneſs of the ſoil that produces plenty for a needful ſupport of life, without fatiguing, or over-heating the planters,—the advantages they receive from ſuch excellent good water, as guſhes out of every hill; and the great additional help by a plain abſtemious life, commonly eating and drinking, only according to the ſolicitations of nature. I have ſeen ſtrangers however, full of admiration at beholding ſo few old people in that country; and they have concluded from thence, and reported in the Engliſh ſettlements, that it was a ſickly ſhort-lived region: but we ſhould conſider, they are always involved in treacherous wars, and expoſed to perpetual dangers, by which, infirm and declining people generally fall, and the manly old warrior will not ſhrink. And yet many of the peaceable fellows, and women, eſpecially in the central towns, ſee the grey hairs of their children, long before they die; and in every Indian country, there are a great many old women on the frontiers, perhaps ten times the number of the men of the ſame age and place—which plainly ſhews the country to be healthy. Thoſe reach to a great age, who live ſecure by the fire-ſide, but no climates or conſtitutions can harden the human body, and make it bullet-proof.

The Cheerake country abounds with the beſt herbage, on the richer parts of the hills and mountains; and a great variety of valuable herbs is promiſcuouſly ſcattered on the lower lands. It is remarkable, that none of our botaniſts ſhould attempt making any experiments there, notwithſtanding the place invited their attention, and the public had a right to expect ſo generous an undertaking from ſeveral of them; while at the ſame time, they would be recovering, or renewing their health, at a far eaſier, cheaper, and ſafer rate, than coaſting it to our northern colonies.

On the level parts of the water-ſide, between the hills, there are plenty of reeds: and, formerly, ſuch places abounded with great brakes of winter-canes.—The foliage of which is always green, and hearty food for horſes and cattle. The traders uſed to raiſe there ſtocks of an hundred, and a hundred and fifty excellent horſes; which are commonly of a good ſize, well-made, hard-hoofed, handſome, ſtrong and fit for the ſaddle or draught: but a perſon runs too great a riſk to buy any to take them out of the country, becauſe, every ſpring-ſeaſon moſt of them make for their native range. Before the Indian trade was ruined by our left-handed policy, and the natives were corrupted by the liberality of our dim-ſighted politicians, the Cheerake were frank, ſincere, and induſtrious. Their towns then, abounded with hogs, poultry, and every thing ſufficient for the ſupport of a reaſonable life, which the traders purchaſed at an eaſy rate, to their mutual ſatisfaction: and as they kept them buſily employed, and did not make themſelves too cheap, the Indians bore them good-will and reſpect—and ſuch is the temper of all the red natives.

I will not take upon me to aſcertain the real difference between the value of the goods they annually purchaſed of us, in former and later times; but, allowing the conſumption to be in favour of the laſt, what is the gain of ſuch an uncertain trifle, in compariſon of our charges and loſſes by a mercileſs ſavage war? The orderly and honeſt ſyſtem, if reſumed, and wiſely purſued, would reform the Indians, and regain their loſt affections; but that of general licences to mean reprobate pedlars, by which they are inebriated, and cheated, is pregnant with complicated evils to the peace and welfare of our valuable ſouthern colonies.

As the Cheerake began to have goods at an under price, it tempted them to be both proud, and lazy. Their women and children are now far above taking the trouble to raiſe hogs for the ugly white people, as the beautiful red heroes proudly term them. If any do—they are forced to feed them in ſmall penns, or incloſures, through all the crop-ſeaſon, and chiefly on long purſly, and other wholſome weeds, that their rich fields abound with. But at the fall of the leaf, the woods are full of hiccory-nuts, acorns, cheſnuts, and the like; which occaſions the Indian bacon to be more ſtreaked, firm, and better taſted, than any we meet with in the Engliſh ſettlements. Some of the natives are grown fond of horned cattle, both in the Cheerake and Muſkohge countries, but moſt decline them, becauſe the fields are not regularly fenced. But almoſt every one hath horſes, from two to a dozen; which makes a conſiderable number, through their various nations. The Cheerake had a prodigious number of excellent horſes, at the beginning of their late war with us; but pinching hunger forced them to eat the greateſt part of them, in the time of that unfortunate event. But as all are now become very active and ſociable, they will ſoon ſupply themſelves with plenty of the beſt ſort, from our ſettlements—they are ſkilful jockies, and nice in their choice.

From the head of the ſouthern branch of Savanah-river, it does not exceed half a mile to a head ſpring of the Miſſiſippi-water, that runs through the middle and upper parts of the Cheerake nation, about a north-weſt courſe,—and joining other rivers, they empty themſelves into the great Miſſiſippi. The above fountain, is called "Herbert's ſpring [*]:" and it was natural for ſtrangers to drink thereof, to quench thirſt, gratify their curioſity, and have it to ſay they had drank of the French waters. Some of our people, who went only with the view of ſtaying a ſhort time, but by ſome allurement or other, exceeded the time appointed, at their return, reported either through merriment or ſuperſtition, that the ſpring had ſuch a natural bewitching quality, thăt whoſoever drank of it, could not poſſibly quit the nation, during the tedious ſpace of ſeven years. All the debauchees readily fell in with this ſuperſtitious notion, as an excuſe for their bad method of living, when they had no proper call to ſtay in that country; and in proceſs of time, it became as received a truth, as any ever believed to have been ſpoken by the delphic oracle. One curſed, becauſe its enchantment had marred his good fortune; another condemned his weakneſs for drinking down witchcraft, againſt his own ſecret ſuſpicions; one ſwore he would never taſte again ſuch known dangerous poiſon, even though he ſhould be forced to go down to the Miſſiſippi for water; and another comforted himſelf, that ſo many years out of the ſeven, were already paſſed, and wiſhed that if ever he taſted it again, though under the greateſt neceſſity, he might be confined to the ſtygian waters. Thoſe who had their minds more inlarged, diverted themſelves much at their coſt, for it was a noted favourite place, on account of the name it went by; and being a well-ſituated and good ſpring, there all travellers commonly drank a bottle of choice: But now, moſt of the packhorſe-men, though they be dry, and alſo matchleſs ſons of Bacchus, on the moſt preſſing invitations to drink there, would ſwear to forfeit ſacred liquor the better part of their lives, rather than baſely renew, or confirm the loſs of their liberty, which that execrable fountain occaſions.

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[*] So named from an early commiſſioner of Indian affairs.

About the year 1738, the Cheerake received a moſt depopulating ſhock, by the ſmall pox, which reduced them almoſt one half, in about a year's time: it was conveyed into Charles-town by the Guinea-men, and ſoon after among them, by the infected goods. At firſt it made ſlow advances, and as it was a foreign, and to them a ſtrange diſeaſe, they were ſo deficient in proper ſkill, that they alternately applied a regimen of hot and cold things, to thoſe who were infected. The old magi and religious phyſicians who were conſulted on ſo alarming a criſis, reported the ſickneſs had been ſent among them, on account of the adulterous intercourſes of their young married people, who the paſt year, had in a moſt notorious manner, violated their ancient laws of marriage in every thicket, and broke down and polluted many of the honeſt neighbours bean-plots, by their heinous crimes, which would coſt a great deal of trouble to purify again. To thoſe flagitious crimes they aſcribed the preſent diſeaſe, as a neceſſary effect of the divine anger; and indeed the religious men chanced to ſuffer the moſt in their ſmall fields, as being contiguous to the town-houſe, where they uſually met at night to dance, when their corn was out of the ſtalks; upon this pique, they ſhewed their prieſt-craft. However, it was thought needful on this occaſion, to endeavour to put a ſtop to the progreſs of ſuch a dangerous diſeaſe: and as it was believed to be brought on them by their unlawful copulation in the night dews, it was thought moſt practicable to try to effect the cure, under the ſame cool element. Immediately, they ordered the reputed ſinners to lie out of doors, day and night, with their breaſt frequently open to the night dews, to cool the fever: they were likewiſe afraid, that the diſeaſed would otherwiſe pollute the houſe, and by that means, procure all their deaths. Inſtead of applying warm remedies, they at laſt in every viſit poured cold water on their naked breaſts, ſung their religious myſtical ſong, *Yo Yo*, &c. with a doleful tune, and ſhaked a callabaſh with the pebble-ſtones, over the ſick, uſing a great many frantic geſtures, by way of incantantion. From the reputed cauſe of the diſeaſe, we may rationally conclude their phyſical treatment of it, to be of a true old Jewiſh deſcent; for as the Iſraelites invoked the deity, or aſked a bleſſing on every thing they undertook, ſo all the Indian Americans ſeek for it, according on the remaining faint glimpſe of their tradition.

When they found their theological regimen had not the deſired effect, but that the infection gained upon them, they held a ſecond conſultation, and deemed it the beſt method to ſweat their patients, and plunge them into the river,—which was accordingly done. Their rivers being very cold in ſummer, by reaſon of the numberleſs ſprings, which pour from the hills and mountains—and the pores of their bodies being open to receive the cold, it ruſhing in through the whole frame, they immediately expired: upon which, all the magi and prophetic tribe broke their old conſecrated phyſic-pots, and threw away all the other pretended holy things they had for phyſical uſe, imagining they had loſt their divine power by being polluted; and ſhared the common fate of their country. A great many killed themſelves; for being naturally proud, they are always peeping into their looking glaſſes, and are never genteelly dreſt, according to their mode, without carrying one hung over their ſhoulders: by which means, ſeeing themſelves disfigured, without hope of regaining their former beauty, ſome ſhot themſelves, others cut their throats, ſome ſtabbed themſelves with knives, and others with ſharp-pointed canes; many threw themſelves with ſullen madneſs into the fire, and there ſlowly expired, as if they had been utterly diveſted of the native power of feeling pain.

I remember, in *Tymăſe*, one of their towns, about ten miles above the preſent Fort Prince-George, a great head-warrior, who murdered a white man thirty miles below *Cheeŏwhee*, as was proved by the branded deerſkins he produced afterward — when he ſaw himſelf disfigured by the ſmall pox, he choſe to die, that he might end as he imagined his ſhame. When his relations knew his deſperate deſign, they narrowly watched him, and took away every ſharp inſtrument from him. When he found he was balked of his intention, he fretted and ſaid the worſt things their language could expreſs, and ſhewed all the ſymptoms of a deſperate perſon enraged at his diſappointment, and forced to live and ſee his ignominy; he then darted himſelf againſt the wall, with all his remaining vigour,—his ſtrength being expended by the force of his friends oppoſition, he fell ſullenly on the bed, as if by thoſe violent ſtruggles he was overcome, and wanted to repoſe himſelf. His relations through tenderneſs, left him to his reſt—but as ſoon as they went away, he raiſed himſelf, and after a tedious ſearch, finding nothing but a thick and round hoe-helve, he took the fatal inſtrument, and having fixed one end of it in the ground, he repeatedly threw himſelf on it, till he forced it down his throat, when he immediately expired.—He was buried in ſilence, without the leaſt mourning.

Although the Cheerake ſhewed ſuch little ſkill in curing the ſmall pox, yet they, as well as all other Indian nations, have a great knowledge of ſpecific virtues in ſimples; applying herbs and plants, on the moſt dangerous occaſions, and ſeldom if ever, fail to effect a thorough cure, from the natural buſh. In the order of nature, every country and climate is bleſt with ſpecific remedies for the maladies that are connatural to it—Naturaliſts tell us they have obſerved, that when the wild goat's ſight begins to decay, he rubs his head againſt a thorn, and by ſome effluvia, or virtue in the vegetable, the ſight is renewed. Thus the ſnake recovers after biting any creature, by his knowledge of the proper antidote; and many of our arts and forms of living, are imitated by lower ranks of the animal creation: the Indians, inſtigated by nature, and quickened by experience, have diſcovered the peculiar properties of vegetables, as far as needful in their ſituation of life. For my own part, I would prefer an old Indian before any chirurgeon whatſoever, in curing green wounds by bullets, arrows, &c. both for the certainty, eaſe, and ſpeedineſs of cure; for if thoſe parts of the body are not hurt, which are eſſential to the preſervation of life, they cure the wounded in a trice. They bring the patient into a good temperament of body, by a decoction of proper herbs and roots, and always enjoin a moſt abſtemious life: they forbid them women, ſalt, and every kind of fleſh-meat, applying mountain allum, as the chief ingredient.

In the year 1749, I came down, by the invitation of the governor of South-Carolina, to Charles-Town, with a body of our friendly Chikkaſah Indians: one of his majeſty's ſurgeons, that very day we arrived, cut off the wounded arm of a poor man. On my relating it to the Indians, they were ſhocked at the information, and ſaid, "The man's poverty ſhould have induced him to exert the common ſkill of mankind, in ſo trifling an hurt; eſpecially, as ſuch a butchery would not only disfigure, but diſable the poor man the reſt of his life; that there would have been more humanity in cutting off the head, than in ſuch a barbarous amputation, becauſe it is much better for men to die once, than to be always dying, for when the hand is loſt, how can the poor man feed himſelf by his daily labour — By the ſame rule of phyſic, had he been wounded in his head, our ſurgeons ſhould have cut that off, for being unfortunate." I told the benevolent old warriors, that the wiſdom of our laws had exempted the head from ſuch ſevere treatment, by not ſettling a reward for the ſevering it, but only ſo much for every joint of the branches of the body, which might be well enough ſpared, without the life; and that this medical treatment was a ſtrong certificate to recommend the poor man to genteel lodgings, where numbers belonging to our great canoes, were provided for during life. They were of opinion however, that ſuch brave hardy fellows would rather be deemed men, and work for their bread, than be laid aſide, not only as uſeleſs animals, but as burdens to the reſt of ſociety.

I do not remember to have ſeen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a ſnake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are then often bitten by the moſt dangerous ſnakes—every one carries in his ſhot-pouch, a piece of the beſt ſnake-root, ſuch as the *Seneeka*, or fern-ſnake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's croſs, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to thoſe who range the American woods, and are expoſed to ſuch dangers, and will effect a thorough and ſpeedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is ſtruck by a ſnake, he immediately chews ſome of the root, and having ſwallowed a ſufficient quantity of it, he applies ſome to the wound; which he repeats as occaſion requires, and in proportion to the poiſon the ſnake has infuſed into the wound. For a ſhort ſpace of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poiſon, and the ſtrong antidote; but the poiſon is ſoon repelled through the ſame channels it entered, and the patient is cured.

The Cheerake mountains look very formidable to a ſtranger, when he is among their valleys, incircled with their prodigious, proud, contending tops; they appear as a great maſs of black and blue clouds, interſperſed with ſome rays of light. But they produce, or contain every thing for health, and wealth, and if cultivated by the rules of art, would furniſh perhaps, as valuable medicines as the eaſtern countries; and as great quantities of gold and ſilver, as Peru and Mexico, in proportion to their ſituation with the æquator. On the tops of ſeveral of thoſe mountains, I have obſerved tufts of graſs deeply tinctured by the mineral exhalations from the earth; and on the ſides, they gliſtered from the ſame cauſe. If ſkilful alchymiſts made experiments on theſe mountains, they could ſoon ſatisfy themſelves, as to the value of their contents, and probably would find their account in it.

Within twenty miles of the late Fort-Loudon, there is great plenty of whet-ſtones for razors, of red, white, and black colours. The ſilver mines are ſo rich, that by digging about ten yards deep, ſome deſperate vagrants found at ſundry times, ſo much rich ore, as to enable them to counterfeit dollars, to a great amount; a horſe load of which was detected in paſſing for the purchaſe of negroes, at Auguſta, which ſtands on the ſouth-ſide of the meandering beautiful Savanah river, half way from the Cheerake country, to Savanah, the capital of Georgia. The load-ſtone is likewiſe found there, but they have no ſkill in ſearching for it, only on the ſurface; a great deal of the magnetic power is loſt, as being expoſed to the various changes of the weather, and frequent firing of the woods. I was told by a trader, who lives in the upper parts of the Cheerake country, which is ſurrounded on every ſide, by prodigious piles of mountains called Cheeowhée, that within about a mile of the town of that name, there is a hill with a great plenty of load-ſtones—the truth of this any gentleman of curioſity may ſoon aſcertain, as it lies on the northern path that leads from South-Carolina, to the remains of Fort-Loudon: and while he is in ſearch of this, he may at the ſame time make a great acqueſt of riches, for the load-ſtone is known to accompany rich metals. I was once near that load-ſtone hill, but the heavy rains which at that time fell on the deep ſnow, prevented the gratifying my curioſity, as the boggy deep creek was thereby rendered impaſſable.

In this rocky country, are found a great many beautiful, clear, chryſtaline ſtones, formed by nature into ſeveral angles, which commonly meet in one point: ſeveral of them are tranſparent, like a coarſe diamond—others reſemble the onyx, being engendered of black and thick humours, as we ſee water that is tinctured with ink, ſtill keeping its ſurface clear. I found one ſtone like a ruby, as big as the top of a man's thumb, with a beautiful dark ſhade in the middle of it. Many ſtones of various colours, and beautiful luſtre, may be collected on the tops of thoſe hills and mountains, which if ſkilfully managed, would be very valuable, for ſome of them are clear, and very hard. From which, we may rationally conjecture that a quantity of ſubterranean treaſures is contained there; the Spaniards generally found out their ſouthern mines, by ſuch ſuperficial indications. And it would be an uſeful, and profitable ſervice for ſkilful artiſts to engage in, as the preſent trading white ſavages are utterly ignorant of it. Manifold curious works of the wiſe author of nature, are bountifully diſperſed through the whole of the country, obvious to every curious eye.

Among the mountains, are many labyrinths, and ſome of a great length, with many branches, and various windings; likewiſe different ſorts of mineral waters, the qualities of which are unknown to the natives, as by their temperate way of living, and the healthineſs of their country, they have no occaſion to make experiments in them. Between the heads of the northern branch of the lower Cheerake river, and the heads of that of Tuckaſehchee, winding round in a long courſe by the late Fort-Loudon, and afterwards into the Miſſiſippi, there is, both in the nature and circumſtances, a great phænomenon—Between two high mountains, nearly covered with old moſſy rocks, lofty cedars, and pines, in the valleys of which the beams of the ſun reflect a powerful heat, there are, as the natives affirm, ſome bright old inhabitants, or rattle ſnakes, of a more enormous ſize than is mentioned in hiſtory. They are ſo large and unwieldy, that they take a circle, almoſt as wide as their length, to crawl round in their ſhorteſt orbit: but bountiful nature compenſates the heavy motion of their bodies, for as they ſay, no living creature moves within the reach of their ſight, but they can draw it to them; which is agreeable to what we obſerve, through the whole ſyſtem of animated beings. Nature endues them with proper capacities to ſuſtain life;—as they cannot ſupport themſelves, by their ſpeed, or cunning to ſpring from an ambuſcade, it is needful they ſhould have the bewitching craft of their eyes and forked tongues.

The deſcription the Indians give us of their colour, is as various as what we are told of the camelion, that ſeems to the ſpectator to change its colour, by every different poſition he may view it in; which proceeds from the piercing rays of light that blaze from their foreheads, ſo as to dazzle the eyes, from whatever quarter they poſt themſelves — for in each of their heads, there is a large carbuncle, which not only repels, but they affirm, ſullies the meridian beams of the ſun. They reckon it ſo dangerous to diſturb thoſe creatures, that no temptation can induce them to betray their ſecret receſs to the prophane. They call them and all of the rattle-ſnake kind, kings, or chieftains of the ſnakes; and they allow one ſuch to every different ſpecies of the brute creation. An old trader of Cheeowhee told me, that for the reward of two pieces of ſtroud-cloth, he engaged a couple of young warriors to ſhew him the place of their reſort; but the head-men would not by any means allow it, on account of a ſuperſtitious tradition—for they fancy the killing of them would expoſe them to the danger of being bit by the other inferior ſpecies of that ſerpentine tribe, who love their chieftains, and know by inſtinct thoſe who maliciouſly killed them, as they fight only in their own defence, and that of their young ones, never biting thoſe who do not diſturb them. Although they eſteem thoſe rattle ſnakes as chieftains of that ſpecies, yet they do not deify them, as the Egyptians did all the ſerpentine kind, and likewiſe Ibis, that preyed upon them; however, it ſeems to have ſprung from the ſame origin, for I once ſaw the Chikkaſah Archi-magus to chew ſome ſnake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattle ſnake without damage — ſoon afterwards he laid it down carefully, in a hollow tree, leſt I ſhould have killed it. Once on the Chikkaſah trading war-path, a little above the country of the Muſkohge, as I was returning to camp from hunting, I found in a large cane ſwamp, a fellow-traveller, an old Indian trader, inebriated and naked, except his Indian breeches and maccaſeenes; in that habit he ſat, holding a great rattle-ſnake round the neck, with his left hand beſmeared with proper roots, and with the other, applying the roots to the teeth, in order to repel the poiſon, before he drew them out; which having effected, he laid it down tenderly at a diſtance. I then killed it, to his great diſlike, as he was afraid it would occaſion misfortunes to himſelf and me. I told him, as he had taken away its teeth, common pity ſhould induce one to put it out of miſery, and that a charitable action could never bring ill on any one; but his education prevented his fears from ſubſiding. On a Chriſtmas-day, at the trading houſe of that harmleſs, brave, but unfortunate man, I took the foot of a guinea-deer out of his ſhot-pouch—and another from my own partner, which they had very ſafely ſewed in the corner of each of their otter-ſkin-pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffaloe, beaver, and other wild beaſts, in plenty: but they were ſo infatuated with the Indian ſuperſtitious belief of the power of that charm, that all endeavours of reconciling them to reaſon were ineffectual: I therefore returned them, for as they were Nimrods, or hunters of men, as well as of wild beaſts, I imagined, I ſhould be anſwerable to myſelf for every accident that might befall them, by depriving them of what they depended upon as their chief good, in that wild ſphere of life. No wonder that the long-deſolate ſavages of the far extending deſarts of America, ſhould entertain the former ſuperſtitious notions of ill luck by that, and good fortune by this; as thoſe of an early chriſtian education, are ſo ſoon impreſt with the like opinions. The latter was killed on the old Chikkaſah, or American-Flanders path, in company with another expert brave man, in the year 1745, by twenty Choktah ſavages, ſet on by the chriſtian French of Tumbikpe garriſon; in conſequence of which, I ſtaid by myſelf the following ſummer-ſeaſon, in the Chikkaſah country, and when the reſt of the trading people and all our horſes were gone down to the Engliſh ſettlements, I perſuaded the Choktah to take up the bloody tomohawk againſt thoſe perfidious French, in revenge of a long train of crying blood: and had it not been for the ſelf-intereſted policy of a certain governor, thoſe numerous ſavages, with the war-like Chikkaſah, would have deſtroyed the Miſſiſippi ſettlements, root and branch, except thoſe who kept themſelves cloſely confined in garriſon. When I treat of the Choktah country, I ſhall more particularly relate that very material affair.

The ſuperior policy of the French ſo highly intoxicated the light heads of the Cheerake, that they were plodding miſchief for twenty years before we forced them to commit hoſtilities. The illuſtration of this may divert the reader, and ſhew our ſouthern colonies what they may ſtill expect from the maſterly abilities of the French Louiſianians, whenever they can make it ſuit their intereſt to exert their talents among the Indian nations, while our watch-men are only employed in treating on paper, in our far-diſtant capital ſeats of government.

In the year 1736, the French ſent into South-Carolina, one Priber, a gentleman of a curious and ſpeculative temper. He was to tranſmit them a full account of that country, and proceed to the Cheerake nation, in order to ſeduce them from the Britiſh to the French intereſt. He went, and though he was adorned with every qualification that conſtitutes the gentleman, ſoon after he arrived at the upper towns of this mountainous country, he exchanged his clothes and every thing he brought with him, and by that means, made friends with the head warriors of great Telliko, which ſtood on a branch of the Miſſiſippi. More effectually to anſwer the deſign of his commiſſion, he ate, drank, ſlept, danced, dreſſed, and painted himſelf, with the Indians, ſo that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh him from the natives,—he married alſo with them, and being endued with a ſtrong underſtanding and retentive memory, he ſoon learned their dialect, and by gradual advances, impreſſed them with a very ill opinion of the Engliſh, repreſenting them as a fraudulent, avaritious, and encroaching people: he at the ſame time, inflated the artleſs ſavages, with a prodigious high opinion of their own importance in the American ſcale of power, on account of the ſituation of their country, their martial diſpoſition, and the great number of their warriors, which would baffle all the efforts of the ambitious, and ill-deſigning Britiſh coloniſts. Having thus infected them by his ſmooth deluding art, he eaſily formed them into a nominal republican government — crowned their old Archi-magus, emperor, after a pleaſing new ſavage form, and invented a variety of high-ſounding titles for all the members of his imperial majeſty's red court, and the great officers of ſtate; which the emperor conferred upon them, in a manner according to their merit. He himſelf received the honourable title of his imperial majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate, and as ſuch he ſubſcribed himſelf, in all the letters he wrote to our government, and lived in open defiance ſiance of them. This ſeemed to be of ſo dangerous a tendency, as to induce South-Carolina to ſend up a commiſſioner, Col. F—x, to demand him as an enemy to the public repoſe—who took him into cuſtody, in the great ſquare of their ſtate-houſe: when he had almoſt concluded his oration on the occaſion, one of the head warriors roſe up, and bade him forbear, as the man he entended to enſlave, was made a great beloved man, and become one of their own people. Though it was reckoned, our agent's ſtrength was far greater in his arms than his head, he readily deſiſted—for as it is too hard to ſtruggle with the pope in Rome, a ſtranger could not miſs to find it equally difficult to enter abruptly into a new emperor's court, and there ſeize his prime miniſter, by a foreign authority; eſpecially when he could not ſupport any charge of guilt againſt him. The warrior told him, that the red people well knew the honeſty of the ſecretary's heart would never allow him to tell a lie; and the ſecretary urged that he was a foreigner, without owing any allegiance to Great Britain,—that he only travelled through ſome places of their country, in a peaceable manner, paying for every thing he had of them; that in compliance with the requeſt of the kindly French, as well as from his own tender feelings for the poverty and inſecure ſtate of the Cheerake, he came a great way, and lived among them as a brother, only to preſerve their liberties, by opening a water communication between them and New Orleans; that the diſtance of the two places from each other, proved his motive to be the love of doing good, eſpecially as he was to go there, and bring up a ſufficient number of Frenchmen of proper ſkill to inſtruct them in the art of making gunpowder, the materials of which, he affirmed their lands abounded with.—He concluded his artful ſpeech, by urging that the tyrannical deſign of the Engliſh commiſſioner toward him, appeared plainly to be levelled againſt them, becauſe, as he was not accuſed of having done any ill to the Engliſh, before he came to the Cheerake, his crime muſt conſiſt in loving the Cheerake.—And as that was reckoned ſo heinous a tranſgreſſion in the eye of the Engliſh, as to ſend one of their angry beloved men to enſlave him, it confirmed all thoſe honeſt ſpeeches he had often ſpoken to the preſent great war-chieftains, old beloved men, and warriors of each claſs.

An old war-leader repeated to the commiſſioner, the eſſential part of the ſpeech, and added more of his own ſimilar thereto. He bade him to inform his ſuperiors, that the Cheerake were as deſirous as the Engliſh to continue a friendly union with each other, as "freemen and equals." That they hoped to receive no farther uneaſineſs from them, for conſulting their own intereſts, as their reaſon dictated.—And they earneſtly requeſted them to ſend no more of thoſe bad papers to their country, on any account; nor to reckon them ſo baſe, as to allow any of their honeſt friends to be taken out of their arms, and carried into ſlavery. The Engliſh beloved man had the honour of receiving his leave of abſence, and a ſufficient paſsport of ſafe conduct, from the imperial red court, by a verbal order of the ſecretary of ſtate,—who was ſo polite as to wiſh him well home, and ordered a convoy of his own life-guards, who conducted him a conſiderable way, and he got home in ſafety.

From the above, it is evident, that the monopolizing ſpirit of the French had planned their dangerous lines of circumvallation, reſpecting our envied colonies, as early as the before-mentioned period. Their choice of the man, beſpeaks alſo their judgment.—Though the philoſophic ſecretary was an utter ſtranger to the wild and mountainous Cheerake country, as well as to their language, yet his ſagacity readily directed him to chuſe a proper place, and an old favourite religious man, for the new red empire; which he formed by ſlow, but ſure degrees, to the great danger of our ſouthern colonies. But the empire received a very great ſhock, in an accident that befel the ſecretary, when it was on the point of riſing into a far greater ſtate of puiſſance, by the acquiſition of the Muſkohge, Choktah, and the weſtern Miſſiſippi Indians. In the fifth year of that red imperial æra, he ſet off for Mobille, accompanied by a few Cheerake. He proceeded by land, as far as a navigable part of the weſtern great river of the Muſkohge; there he went into a canoe prepared for the joyful occaſion, and proceeded within a day's journey of Alebahma garriſon — conjecturing the adjacent towns were under the influence of the French, he landed at Tallapooſe town, and lodged there all night. The traders of the neighbouring towns ſoon went there, convinced the inhabitants of the dangerous tendency of his unwearied labours among the Cheerake, and of his preſent journey, and then took him into cuſtody, with a large bundle of manuſcripts, and ſent him down to Frederica in Georgia; the governor committed him to a place of confinement, though not with common felons, as he was a foreigner, and was ſaid to have held a place of conſiderable rank in the army with great honour. Soon after, the magazine took fire, which was not far from where he was confined, and though the centinels bade him make off to a place of ſafety, as all the people were running to avoid danger from the exploſion of the powder and ſhells, yet he ſquatted on his belly upon the floor, and continued in that poſition, without the leaſt hurt: ſeveral blamed his raſhneſs, but he told them, that experience had convinced him, it was the moſt probable means to avoid imminent danger. This incident diſplayed the philoſopher and ſoldier, and after bearing his misfortunes a conſiderable time with great conſtancy, happily for us, he died in confinement,—though he deſerved a much better fate. In the firſt year of his ſecretaryſhip I maintained a correſpondence with him; but the Indians becoming very inquiſitive to know the contents of our marked large papers, and he ſuſpecting his memory might fail him in telling thoſe cunning ſifters of truth, a plauſible ſtory, and of being able to repeat it often to them, without any variation,—he took the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt method, by telling them that, in the very ſame manner as he was their great ſecretary, I was the devil's clerk, or an accurſed one who marked on paper the bad ſpeech of the evil ones of darkneſs. Accordingly, they forbad him writing any more to ſuch an accurſed one, or receiving any of his evil-marked papers, and our correſpondence ceaſed. As he was learned, and poſſeſſed of a very ſagacious penetrating judgment, and had every qualification that was requiſite for his bold and difficult enterprize, it is not to be doubted, that as he wrote a Cheerake dictionary, deſigned to be publiſhed at Paris, he likewiſe ſet down a great deal that would have been very acceptable to the curious, and ſerviceable to the repreſentatives of South-Carolina and Georgia; which may be readily found in Frederica, if the manuſcripts have had the good fortune to eſcape the deſpoiling hands of military power.

When the weſtern Cheerake towns loſt the chief ſupport of their imperial court, they artfully agreed to inform the Engliſh traders, that each of them had opened their eyes, and rejected the French plan as a wild ſcheme, inconſiſtent with their intereſts; except great Telliko, the metropolis of their late empire, which they ſaid was firmly reſolved to adhere to the French propoſals, as the ſureſt means of promoting their welfare and happineſs. Though the inhabitants of this town were only dupes to the reſt, yet for the ſake of the imagined general good of the country, their conſtancy enabled them to uſe that diſguiſe a long time, in contempt of the Engliſh, till habit changed into a real hatred of the object, what before was only fictitious. They correſponded with the French in the name of thoſe ſeven towns, which are the moſt warlike part of the nation: and they were ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the notions their beloved ſecretary had infuſed into their heads, in that early weak ſtate of Louiſiana, that they had reſolved to remove, and ſettle ſo low down their river, as the French boats could readily bring them a ſupply. But the hot war they fell into with the northern Indians, made them poſtpone the execution of that favourite deſign; and the ſettling of Fort Loudon, quieted them a little, as they expected to get preſents, and ſpirituous liquors there, according to the manner of the French promiſes, of which they had great plenty.

The French, to draw off the weſtern towns, had given them repeated aſſurances of ſettling a ſtrong garriſon on the north ſide of their river, as high up as their large pettiaugres could be brought with ſafety, where there was a large tract of rich lands abounding with game and fowl, and the river with fiſh.—They at the ſame time promiſed to procure a firm peace between the Cheerake and all the Indian nations depending on the French; and to beſtow on them powder, bullets, flints, knives, ſciſſars, combs, ſhirts, looking glaſſes, and red paint,—beſide favourite trifles to the fair ſex: in the ſame brotherly manner the Alebahma French extended, their kindly hands to their Muſkohge brethren. By their aſſiduous endeavours, that artful plan was well ſupported, and though the ſituation of our affairs, in the remote, and leading Cheerake towns, had been in a ticklиſh ſituation, from the time their project of an empire was formed; and though ſeveral other towns became uneaſy and diſcontented on ſundry pretexts, for the ſpace of two years before the unlucky occaſion of the ſucceeding war happened—yet his excellency our governor neglected the proper meaſures to reconcile the wavering ſavages, till the gentleman who was appointed to ſucceed him, had juſt reached the American coaſt: then, indeed, he ſet off, with a conſiderable number of gentlemen, in flouriſhing parade, and went as far as Ninety-ſix * ſettlement; from whence, as moſt probably he expected, he was fortunately recalled, and joyfully ſuperſeded. I ſaw him on his way up, and plainly obſerved he was unprovided for the journey; it muſt unavoidably have proved abortive

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* So called from its diſtance of miles from the Cheerake.

before he could have proceeded through the Cheerake country,—gratifying the inquiſitive diſpoſition of the people, as he went, and quieting the jealous minds of the inhabitants of thoſe towns, who are ſettled among the Apalahche mountains, and thoſe ſeven towns, in particular, that lie beyond them. He neither ſent before, nor carried with him, any preſents wherewith to ſoothe the natives; and his kind promiſes, and ſmooth ſpeeches, would have weighed exceedingly light in the Indian ſcale.

Having ſhewn the bad ſtate of our affairs among the remoteſt parts of the Cheerake country, and the cauſes.—I ſhall now relate their plea, for commencing war againſt the Britiſh colonies; and the great danger we were expoſed to by the inceſſant intrigues of the half-ſavage French garriſons, in thoſe hot times, when all our northern barriers were ſo prodigiouſly harraſſed. Several companies of the Cheerake, who joined our forces under General Stanwix at the unfortunate Ohio, affirmed that their alienation from us, was—becauſe they were confined to our martial arrangement, by unjuſt ſuſpicion of them—were very much contemned,—and half ſtarved at the main camp: their hearts told them therefore to return home, as freemen and injured allies, though without a ſupply of proviſions. This they did, and pinching hunger forced them to take as much as barely ſupported nature, when returning to their own country. In their journey, the German inhabitants, without any provocation, killed in cool blood about forty of their warriors, in different places—though each party was under the command of a Britiſh ſubject. They ſcalped all, and butchered ſeveral, after a moſt ſhocking manner, in imitation of the barbarous war-cuſtom of the ſavages; ſome who eſcaped the carnage, returned at night, to ſee their kindred and war-companions, and reported their fate. Among thoſe who were thus treated, ſome were leading men, which had a dangerous tendency to diſturb the public quiet. We were repeatedly informed, by public accounts, that thoſe murderers were ſo audacious as to impoſe the ſcalps on the government for thoſe of French Indians; and that they actually obtained the premium allowed at that time by law in ſuch a caſe. Although the vindictive diſpoſition of Indians in general, impetuouſly forces them on in queſt of equal revenge for blood, without the leaſt thought of conſequences; yet as a miſunderſtanding had ſubſiſted ſome time, between ſeveral diſtant towns, and thoſe who chanced to loſe their people in Virginia, the chiefs of thoſe families being afraid of a civil war, in caſe of a rupture with us, diſſuaded the furious young warriors from commencing hoſtilities againſt us, till they had demanded ſatisfaction, agreeable to the treaty of friendſhip between them and our colonies; which if denied, they would fully take of their own accord, as became a free, warlike, and injured people. In this ſtate, the affair lay, for the beſt part of a year, without our uſing any proper conciliating meaſures, to prevent the threatening impending ſtorm from deſtroying us: during that interval, they earneſtly applied to Virginia for ſatisfaction, without receiving any; in like manner to North-Carolina; and afterwards to South-Carolina, with the ſame bad ſucceſs. And there was another incident at Fort Prince-George, which ſet fire to the fuel, and kindled it into a raging flame: three light-headed, diſorderly young officers of that garriſon, forcibly violated ſome of their wives, and in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, at their own houſes, while the huſbands were making their winter hunt in the woods—and which infamous conduct they madly repeated, but a few months before the commencement of the war: in other reſpects, through a haughty overbearing ſpirit, they took pleaſure in inſulting and abuſing the natives, when they paid a friendly viſit to the garriſon. No wonder that ſuch a behaviour, cauſed their revengeful tempers to burſt forth into action. When the Indians find no redreſs of grievances, they never fail to redreſs themſelves, either ſooner or later. But when they begin, they do not know where to end. Their thirſt for the blood of their reputed enemies, is not to be quenched with a few drops.—The more they drink, the more it inflames their thirſt. When they dip their finger in human blood, they are reſtleſs till they plunge themſelves in it.

Contrary to the wiſe conduct of the French garriſons in ſecuring the affection of the natives where they are ſettled—our ſons of Mars imbittered the hearts of thoſe Cheerake, that lie next to South-Carolina and Georgia colonies, againſt us, with the mid ſettlements and the weſtern towns on the ſtreams of the Miſſiſippi: who were ſo incenſed as continually to upbraid the traders with our unkind treatment of their people in the camp at Monongahela,—and for our having committed ſuch hoſtilities againſt our good friends, who were peaceably returning home through our ſettlements, and often under pinching wants. The lying over their dead, and the wailing of the women in their various towns, and tribes, for their deceaſed relations, at the dawn of day, and in the duſk of the evening, proved another ſtrong provocative to them to retaliate blood for blood. The Muſkohge alſo at that time having a friendly intercourſe with the Cheerake, through the channel of the governor of South-Carolina, were, at the inſtance of the watchful French, often ridiculing them for their cowardice in not revenging the crying blood of their beloved kinſmen and warriors. At the ſame time, they promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt us, and in the name of the Alebahma French, aſſured them of a ſupply of ammunition, to enable them to avenge their injuries, and maintain their lives and liberties againſt the miſchievous and bloody Engliſh coloniſts; who, they ſaid, were naturally in a bitter ſtate of war againſt all the red people, and ſtudied only how to ſteal their lands, on a quite oppoſite principle to the open ſteady conduct of the generous French, who aſſiſt their poor red brothers, a great way from their own ſettlements, where they can have no view, but that of doing good. Notwithſtanding the repeated provocations we had given to the Cheerake,—and the artful inſinuations of the French, inculcated with proper addreſs; yet their old chiefs not wholly depending on the ſincerity of their ſmooth tongues and painted faces; nor on the aſſiſtance, or even neutrality of the remote northern towns of their own country, on mature deliberation, concluded that, as all hopes of a friendly redreſs for the blood of their relations now depended on their own hands, they ought to take revenge in that equal and juſt manner, which became good warriors. They accordingly ſent out a large company of warriors, againſt thoſe Germans, (or Tied-arſe people, as they term them) to bring in an equal number of their ſcalps, to thoſe of their own murdered relations.—Or if they found their ſafety did not permit, they were to proceed as near to that ſettlement, as they conveniently could, where having taken ſufficient ſatisfaction, they were to bury the bloody tomohawk they took with them. They ſet off, but advancing pretty far into the high ſettlements of North-Carolina, the ambitious young leaders ſeparated into ſmall companies, and killed as many of our people, as unfortunately fell into their power, contrary to the wiſe orders of their ſeniors, and the number far exceeded that of their own ſlain. Soon after they returned home, they killed a reprobate old trader; and two ſoldiers alſo were cut off near Fort Loudon. For theſe acts of hoſtility, the government of South-Carolina demanded ſatisfaction, without receiving any; the hearts of their young warriors were ſo exceedingly enraged, as to render their ears quite deaf to any remonſtrance of their ſeniors, reſpecting an amicable accommodation; for as they expected to be expoſed to very little danger, on our remote, diſperſed, and very extenſive barrier ſettlements, nothing but war-ſongs and war-dances could pleaſe them, during this flattering period of becoming great warriors, “ by killing ſwarms of white dung-hill fowls, in the corn-fields, and aſleep,” according to their war-phraſe.

Previous to this alarming criſis, while the Indians were applying to our colonies for that ſatisfaction, which our laws could not allow them, without a large contribution of white ſcalps, from Tyburn, with one living criminal to ſuffer death before their eyes, — his excellency William Henry Lyttleton, governor of South-Carolina, ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in providing for the ſafety of the colony; regardleſs of fatigue, he viſited its extenſive barriers, by land and water, to have them put in as reſpectable a condition, as circumſtances could admit, before the threatening ſtorm broke out: and he ordered the militia of the colony, under a large penalty, to be trained to arms, by an adjutant general, (the very worthy Col. G. P.) who ſaw thoſe manly laws of defence duly executed. We had great pleaſure to ſee his excellency on his ſummer's journey, enter the old famous New-Windſor garriſon, like a private gentleman, without the leaſt parade; and he proceeded in his circular courſe, in the ſame retired eaſy manner, without incommoding any of the inhabitants. He fully teſtified, his ſole aim was the ſecurity and welfare of the valuable country over which he preſided, without imitating the mean ſelf-intereſted artifice of any predeceſſor. At the capital ſeat of government, he buſily employed himſelf in extending, and protecting trade, the vital part of a maritime colony; in redreſſing old neglected grievances, of various kinds; in puniſhing corruption whereſoever it was found, beginning at the head, and proceeding equally to the feet; and in protecting virtue, not by the former cobweb-laws, but thoſe of old Britiſh extraction. In ſo laudable a manner, did that public-ſpirited governor exert his powers, in his own proper ſphere of action: but on an object much below it, he failed, by not knowing aright the temper and cuſtoms of the ſavages.

The war being commenced on both ſides, by the aforeſaid complicated cauſes, it continued for ſome time a partial one: and according to the well-known temper of the Cheerake in ſimilar caſes, it might either have remained ſo, or ſoon have been changed into a very hot civil war, had we been ſo wiſe as to have improved the favourable opportunity. There were ſeven northern towns, oppoſite to the middle parts of the Cheerake country, who from the beginning of the unhappy grievances, firmly diſſented from the hoſtile intentions of their ſuffering and enraged country-men, and for a conſiderable time before, bore them little good-will, on account of ſome family diſputes, which occaſioned each party to be more favourable to itſelf than to the other: Theſe, would readily have gratified their vindictive diſpoſition, either by a neutrality, or an offenſive alliance with our coloniſts againſt them. Our rivals the French, never neglected ſo favourable an opportunity of ſecuring, and promoting their intereſts.—We have known more than one inſtance, wherein their wiſdom has not only found out proper means to diſconcert the moſt dangerous plans of diſaffected ſavages, but likewiſe to foment, and artfully encourage great animoſities between the heads of ambitious rival families, till they fixed them in an implacable hatred againſt each other, and all of their reſpective tribes. Had the French been under ſuch circumſtances, as we then were, they would inſtantly have ſent them an embaſſy by a proper perſon, to enforce it by the perſuaſive argument of intereſt, well ſupported with preſents to all the leading men, in order to make it weigh heavy in the Indian ſcale; and would have invited a number of thoſe towns to pay them a brotherly viſit, whenever it ſuited them, that they might ſhake hands, ſmoke out of the white, or beloved pipe, and drink phyſic together, as became old friends of honeſt hearts, &c.

Had we thus done, many valuable and innocent perſons might have been ſaved from the torturing hands of the enraged Indians! The favourite leading warrior of thoſe friendly towns, was well known to South-Carolina and Georgia, by the trading name—"*Round O.*" on account of a blue impreſſion he bore in that form. The ſame old, brave, and friendly warrior, depending firmly on our friendſhip and uſual good faith, came down within an hundred miles of Charles-town, along with the head-men, and many others of thoſe towns, to declare to the government, an inviolable attachment to all our Britiſh colonies, under every various circumſtance of life whatſoever; and at the ſame time, earneſtly to requeſt them to ſupply their preſent want of ammunition, and order the commanding officer of Fort-Prince-George to continue to do them the like ſervice, when neceſſity ſhould force them to apply for it; as they were fully determined to war to the very laſt, againſt all the enemies of Carolina, without regarding who they were, or the number they conſiſted of. This they told me on the ſpot; for having been in a ſingular manner recommended to his excellency the general, I was pre-engaged for that campaign—but as I could not obtain orders to go a-head of the army, through the woods, with a body of the Chikkaſah, and commence hoſtilities, I declined the affair. Had our valuable, and well-meaning Cheerake friends juſt mentioned, acted their uſual part of evading captivity, it would have been much better for them, and many hundreds of our unfortunate out-ſettlers; but they depending on our uſual good faith, by their honeſt credulity were ruined. It was well-known, that the Indians are unacquainted with the cuſtom and meaning of hoſtages; to them, it conveyed the idea of ſlaves, as they have no public faith to ſecure the lives of ſuch—yet they were taken into cuſtody, kept in cloſe confinement, and afterwards ſhot dead: their mortal crime conſiſted in ſounding the war-whoop, and hollowing to their countrymen, when attacking the fort in which they were impriſoned, to fight like ſtrong-hearted warriors, and they would ſoon carry it, againſt the cowardly traitors, who deceived and inſlaved their friends in their own beloved country. A white ſavage on this cut through a plank, over their heads, and perpetrated that horrid action, while the ſoldiery were employed like warriors, againſt the enemy: to excuſe his baſeneſs, and ſave himſelf from the reproaches of the people, he, like the wolf in the fable, falſely accuſed them of intending to poiſon the wells of the garriſon.

By our uniform miſconduct, we gave too plauſible a plea to the diſaffected part of the Muſkohge to join the Cheerake, and at the ſame time, fixed the whole nation in a ſtate of war againſt us—all the families of thoſe leading men that were ſo ſhamefully murdered, were inexpreſſibly imbittered againſt our very national name, judging that we firſt deceived, then inſlaved, and afterwards killed our beſt, and moſt faithful friends, who were firmly reſolved to die in our defence. The means of our general ſafety, thus were turned to our general ruin. The mixed body of people that were firſt ſent againſt them, were too weak to do them any ill; and they ſoon returned home with a wild, ridiculous parade. There were frequent deſertions among them—ſome were afraid of the ſmall-pox, which then raged in the country—others abhorred an inactive life; this fine ſilken body chiefly conſiſted of citizens and planters from the low ſettlements, unacquainted with the hardſhips of a wood-land, ſavage war, and in caſe of an ambuſcade attack, were utterly incapable of ſtanding the ſhock. In Georgiana, we were aſſured by a gentleman of character, a principal merchant of Mobille, who went a voluntier on that expedition, that toward the concluſion of it, when he went round the delicate camp, in wet weather, and late at night, he ſaw in different places from fifteen to twenty of their guns in a cluſter, at the diſtance of an equal number of paces from their tents, ſeemingly ſo ruſty and peaceable, as the loſs of them by the uſual ſudden attack of Indian ſavages, could not in the leaſt affect their lives. And the Cheerake nation were ſenſible of their innocent intentions, from the diſpoſition of the expedition in ſo late a ſeaſon of the year: but their own bad ſituation by the ravaging ſmall-pox, and the danger of a civil war, induced the lower towns to lie dormant. However, ſoon after our people returned home, they firmly united in the generous cauſe of liberty, and they acted their part ſo well, that our traders ſuſpected not the impending blow, till the moment they fatally felt it: ſome indeed eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of the Indians. In brief, we forced the Cheerake to become our bitter enemies, by a long train of wrong meaſures, the conſequences of which were ſeverely felt by a number of high aſſeſſed, ruined, and bleeding innocents—May this relation, be a laſting caution to our colonies againſt the like fatal errors! and induce them, whenever neceſſity compels, to go well prepared, with plenty of fit ſtores, and men, againſt any Indian nation, and firſt defeat, and then treat with them. It concerns us to remember, that they neither ſhew mercy to thoſe who fall in their power, by the chance of war; nor keep good faith with their enemies, unleſs they are feelingly convinced of its reaſonableneſs, and civilly treated afterward.

Had South-Carolina exerted herſelf in due time againſt them, as her ſituation required, it would have ſaved a great deal of innocent blood, and public treaſure: common ſenſe directed them to make immediate preparations for carrying the war into their country, as the only way to conquer them; but they ſtrangely neglected ſending war-like ſtores to Ninety-ſix, our only barrier-fort, and even providing horſes and carriages for that needful occaſion, till the troops they requeſted arrived from New-York: and then they ſent only a trifling number of thoſe, and our provincials, under the gallant Col. Montgomery, (now Lord Eglington). His twelve hundred brave, hardy highlanders, though but a handful, were much abler, however, to fight the Indians in their country than ſix thouſand heavy-accoutered and ſlow moving regulars: for theſe, with our provincials, could both fight and purſue, while the regulars would always be ſurrounded, and ſtand a ſure and ſhining mark. Except a certain provincial captain who eſcorted the cattle, every officer and private man in this expedition, imitated the intrepid copy of their martial leader; but being too few in number, and withal, ſcanty of proviſions, and having loſt many men at a narrow paſs, called Crow's Creek, where the path leads by the ſide of a river, below a dangerous ſteep mountain,—they proceeded only a few miles, to a fine ſituated town called Nuquoſe; and then wiſely retreated under cover of the night, toward Fort-Prince-George, and returned to Charles-town, in Auguſt 1760. Seven months after the Cheerake commenced hoſtilities, South-Carolina by her ill-timed parſimony again expoſed her barriers to the merciless ravages of the enraged Indians—who reckoning themſelves alſo ſuperior to any reſiſtance we could make, ſwept along the valuable out-ſettlements of North-Carolina and Virginia, and like evil ones licenſed to deſtroy, ruined every thing near them. The year following, Major Grant, the preſent governor of Eaſt-Florida, was ſent againſt them with an army of regulars and provincials, and happily for him, the Indians were then in great want of ammunition: they therefore only appeared, and ſuddenly diſappeared. From all probable circumſtances, had the Cheerake been ſufficiently ſupplied with ammunition, twice the number of troops could not have defeated them, on account of the declivity of their ſtupendous mountains, under which their paths frequently run; the Virginia troops likewiſe kept far off in flouriſhing parade, without coming to our aſſiſtance, or making a diverſion againſt thoſe warlike towns which lie beyond the Apalahche mountains,—the chief of which are, *Tennâſe*, *Choâte*, *Great-Telliko*, and *Huwhâſe*.

At the beginning of the late Cheerake war, I had the pleaſure to ſee, at *Auguſta* in *Georgia*, the honourable gentleman who was our firſt Indian ſuper-intendant; he was on his way to the Muſkohge country, to pacify their ill diſpoſition toward us, which had irritated the Cheerake, and engaged them in a firm confederacy againſt us. They had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted ſwans wings, a ſtrong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offenſive and defenſive treaty. But, notwithſtanding our dangerous ſituation ought to have directed any gentleman worthy of public truſt, to have immediately proceeded to their country, to regain the hearts of thoſe fickle and daring ſavages, and thereby elude the deep-laid plan of the French; and though Indian runners were frequently ſent down by our old friendly head-men, urging the abſolute neceſſity of his coming up ſoon, otherwiſe it would be too late—he trifled away near half a year there, and in places adjoining, in raiſing a body of men with a proud uniform dreſs, for the ſake of parade, and to eſcort him from danger, with ſwivels, blunderbuſſes, and many other ſuch ſorts of blundering ſtuff, before he proceeded on his journey. This was the only way to expoſe the gentleman to real danger, by ſhewing at ſuch a time, a diffidence of the natives—which he accordingly effected, merely by his pride, obſtinacy, and unſkilfulneſs. It is well known, the whole might have been prevented, if he had liſtened to the entreaties of the Indian traders of that place, to requeſt one (who would neither refuſe, nor delay to ſerve his country on any important occaſion) to go in his ſtead, as the dangerous ſituation of our affairs demanded quick diſpatch. But pride prevented, and he ſlowly reached there, after much time was loſt.

The artful French commander, had in the mean while a very good opportunity to diſtract the giddy ſavages, and he wiſely took advantage of the delay, and perſuaded a conſiderable body of the Shawano Indians to fly to the northward,—as our chief was affirmed to be coming with an army and train of artillery to cut them off, in revenge of the blood they had formerly ſpilled. We ſoon heard, that in their way, they murdered a great many of the Britiſh ſubjects, and with the moſt deſpiteful eagerneſs committed their bloody ravages during the whole war.

After the head-men of that far-extending country, were convened to know the import of our intendants long-expected embaſſy, he detained them from day to day with his parading grandeur; not uſing the Indian friendly freedom, either to the red, or white people, till proviſions grew ſcanty. Then their hearts were imbittered againſt him, while the French Alebahma commander was buſy, in taking time by the forelock. But the former, to be uniform in his ſtiff, haughty conduct, crowned the whole, in a longer delay, and almoſt gained a ſuppoſed crown of martydom,—by prohibiting, in an obſtinate manner, all the war-chieftains and beloved men then aſſembled together in the great beloved ſquare, from handing the friendly white pipe to a certain great war-leader, well-known by the names of *Yah-Yah-Tuſtanage*, or "the Great Mortar," becauſe he had been in the French intereſt. Our great man, ought to have reclaimed him by ſtrong reaſoning and good treatment: but by his miſconduct, he inflamed the hearts of him and his relations with the bittereſt enmity againſt the Engliſh name, ſo that when the gentleman was proceeding in his laconic ſtile,—a warrior who had always before been very kind to the Britiſh traders, (called "the *Tobacco-eater*," on account of his chewing tobacco) jumped up in a rage, and darted his tomohawk at his head,—happily for all the traders preſent, and our frontier colonies, it ſunk in a plank directly over the ſuperintendant; and while the tobacco-eater was eagerly pulling it out, to give the mortal blow, a warrior, friendly to the Engliſh, immediately leaped up, ſaved the gentleman, and prevented thoſe dangerous conſequences which muſt otherwiſe have immediately followed. Had the aimed blow ſuceeded, the ſavages would have immediately put up the war and death whoop, deſtroyed moſt of the white people there on the ſpot, and ſet off in great bodies, both to the Cheerake country, and againſt our valuable ſettlements. Soon after that gentleman returned to Carolina, the Great Mortar perſuaded a party of his relations to kill our traders, and they murdered ten;—very fortunately, it ſtopped there for that time. But at the cloſe of the great congreſs at Auguſta, where four governors of our colonies, and his majeſty's ſuperintendant, convened the ſavages and renewed and confirmed the treaty of peace, the ſame diſaffected warrior returning home, ſent off a party, who murdered fourteen of the inhabitants of Long-Cane ſettlement, above Ninety-Six. The reſult of that dangerous congreſs, tempted the proud ſavages to act ſuch a part, as they were tamely forgiven, and unaſked, all their former ſcenes of blood.

During this diſtracted period, the French uſed their utmoſt endeavours to involve us in a general Indian war, which to have ſaved South-Carolina and Georgia, would probably have required the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable number of our troops from Canada. They ſtrove to ſupply the Cheerake, by way of the Miſſiſippi, with warlike ſtores; and alſo ſent them powder, bullets, flints, knives, and red paint, by their ſtaunch friend, the diſaffected Great Mortar, and his adherents. And though they failed in executing their miſchievous plan, both on account of the manly eſcape of our traders, and the wiſe conduct of thoſe below, they did not deſpair. Upon ſtudious deliberation, they concluded, that, if the aforeſaid chieftain

Yah Yah Tuſtanàge, his family, and warriors, ſettled high up one of their leading rivers, about half way toward the Cheerake, it would prove the only means then left, of promoting their general cauſe againſt the Britiſh coloniſts: And, as the lands were good for hunting,—the river ſhallow, and abounding with ſaltiſh graſs, for the deer to feed on in the heat of the day, free of troubleſome inſects,—and as the ſtream glided by the Alebahma garriſon to Mobille, at that time in the French hands, it could not well fail to decoy a great many of the ambitious young warriors, and others, to go there and join our enemies, on any occaſion which appeared moſt conducive to their deſign of ſhedding blood, and getting a higher name among their wolfiſh heroes. He and his numerous pack, confident of ſucceſs, and of receiving the French ſupplies by water, ſet off for their new ſeat, well loaded, both for their Cheerake friends and themſelves. He had a French commiſſion, with plenty of bees-wax, and decoying pictures; and a flouriſhing flag, which in dry weather, was diſplayed day and night, in the middle of their anti-anglican theatre. It in a great meaſure anſwered the ſerpentine deſign of the French, for it became the general rendezvous of the Miſſiſippi Indians, the Cheerake, and the more miſchievous part of the Muſkohge. The latter became the French carriers to thoſe high-land ſavages: and had they received the ammunition ſent them by water, and that neſt been allowed to continue, we ſhould have had the French on our ſouthern colonies at the head of a dreadful confederated army of ſavages, carrying deſolation where-ever they went. But, the plan miſcarried, our friendly gallant Chikkaſah, being well informed of the ill deſign of this neſt of hornets, broke it up. A conſiderable company of their reſolute warriors marched againſt it; and, as they readily knew the place of the Great Mortar's reſidence, they attacked it, and though they miſſed him, they killed his brother. This, ſo greatly intimidated him, and his clan, that they ſuddenly removed from thence; and their favourite plan was abortive. When he got near to a place of ſafety, he ſhewed how highly irritated he was againſt us, and our allies. His diſappointment, and diſgrace, prevented him from returning to his own native town, and excited him to ſettle in the remoteſt, and moſt northern one of the whole nation, toward the Cheerake, in order to aſſiſt them, (as far as the French, and his own corroding temper might enable him) againſt the innocent objects of his enmity: and during the continuance of the war we held with thoſe ſavages, he and a numerous party of his adherents kept paſſing, and repaſſing, from thence to the bloody theatre. They were there, as their loud inſulting bravadoes teſtified, during our two before-mentioned campaigns, under the Hon. Col. Montgomery, and Major Grant. The wiſe endeavours of Governor Bull, of South-Carolina, and the unwearied application of Governor Ellis, of Georgia, in concert with the gentlemen of two great trading houſes, the one at Auguſta, and the other on the Carolina ſide of the river, not far below, where the Indians crowded day and night, greatly contributed to demoliſh the plan of the French and their ally, the Great Mortar.

When public ſpirit, that divine ſpark, glows in the breaſt of any of the American leaders, it never fails to communicate its influence, all around, even to the ſavages in the remoteſt wilderneſs; of which Governor Ellis is an illuſtrious inſtance. He ſpeedily reconciled a jarring colony—calmed the raging Muſkohge, though ſet on by the miſchievous Alebahma French,—pacified the Cheerake, and the reſt of their confederates—ſent them off well pleaſed, without executing their baſe deſign, and engaged them into a neutrality. The following, is one inſtance—As ſoon as the Indians killed our traders, they ſent runners to call home their people, from our ſettlements: a friendly head warrior, who had notice of it at night, near Auguſta, came there next day with a few more, expreſſed his ſorrow for the miſchief his countrymen had done us, proteſted he never had any ill intentions againſt us, and ſaid that, though by the law of blood, he ought to die, yet, if we allowed him to live as a friend, he ſhould live and die one. Though thouſands of regular troops would moſt probably have been totally cut off, had they been where the intended general maſſacre began, without an eſcortment of our provincials; yet an unſkilful, haughty officer of Fort-Auguſta laboured hard for killing this wairror, and his companion, which of courſe, would have brought on what the enemy ſought, a complicated, univerſal war. But his excellency's humane temper, and wiſe conduct, actuating the Indian trading gentlemen of Auguſta, they ſuffered him to ſet off to ſtrive to prevent the further effuſion of innocent blood, and thus procured the happy fruits of peace, to the infant colonies of Georgia and South-Carolina.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MUSKOHGE NATION, &c.

THEIR country is ſituated, nearly in the centre, between the Cheerake, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, and the Choktah and Chikkaſah nations, the one 200, and the other 300 miles up the Miſſiſippi. It extends 180 computed miles, from north to ſouth. It is called the Creek country, on account of the great number of Creeks, or ſmall bays, rivulets and ſwamps, it abounds with. This nation is generally computed to conſiſt of about 3500 men fit to bear arms; and has fifty towns, or villages. The principal are *Ok-whûs-ke*, *Ok-chai*, *Tuk-ke-bat-che*, *Tal-lâ-ſe*, *Kow-hétah*, and *Cha-hâh*. The nation conſiſts of a mixture of ſeveral broken tribes, whom the Muſkohge artfully decoyed to incorporate with them, in order to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt hoſtile attempts. Their former national names were *Ta-mé-tah*, *Tae-keo-ge*, *Ok-chai*, *Pak-kâ-na*, *Wee-tam-ka*; with them is alſo one town of the *Sha-wa-no*, and one of the *Nah-chee* Indians; likewiſe two great towns of the *Koo-a-ſâh-te*. The upper part of the Muſkohge country is very hilly—the middle leſs ſo—the lower towns, level: Theſe are ſettled by the remains of the *Ooſécha*, *Okone*, and *Sawakola* nations. Moſt of their towns are very commodiouſly and pleaſantly ſituated, on large, beautiful creeks, or rivers, where the lands are fertile, the water clear and well taſted, and the air extremely pure. As the ſtreams have a quick deſcent, the climate is of a moſt happy temperature, free from diſagreeable heat or cold, unleſs for the ſpace of a few days, in ſummer and winter, according to all our American climes. In their country are four bold rivers, which ſpring from the Apalahche mountains, and interlock with the eaſtern branches of the Miſſiſippi. The Kooſah river is the weſtern boundary of their towns: It is 200 yards broad, and runs by the late Alebahma, to

Mobille,

Mobille, eaſtward. Okwhuſke lies 70 miles from the former, which taking a conſiderable ſouthern ſweep, runs a weſtern courſe, and joins the aforeſaid great ſtream, a little below that deſerted garriſon; ſince the year 1764, the Muſkohge have ſettled ſeveral towns, ſeventy miles eaſtward from Okwhuſke, on the Chatahooche river, near to the old trading path. This great lympid ſtream is 200 yards broad, and lower down, it paſſes by the Apalahche, into Florida; ſo that this nation extends 140 miles in breadth from eaſt to weſt, according to the courſe of the trading path.

Their land is generally hilly, but not mountainous; which allows an army an eaſy paſſage into their country, to retaliate their inſults and cruelties—that period ſeems to advance apace; for the fine flouriſhing accounts of thoſe who gain by the art, will not always quiet a ſuffering people. As the Muſkohge judge only from what they ſee around them, they firmly believe they are now more powerful than any nation that might be tempted to invade them. Our paſſive conduct toward them, cauſes them to entertain a very mean opinion of our martial abilities: but, before we tamely allowed them to commit acts of hoſtility, at pleaſure, (which will ſoon be mentioned) the traders taught them ſometimes by ſtrong felt leſſons, to conclude the Engliſh to be men and warriors. They are certainly the moſt powerful Indian nation we are acquainted with on this continent, and within thirty years paſt, they are grown very warlike. Toward the concluſion of their laſt war with the Cheerake, they defeated them ſo eaſily, that in contempt, they ſent ſeveral of their women and ſmall boys againſt them, though, at that time, the Cheerake were the moſt numerous. The Choktah were alſo much inferior to them, in ſeveral engagements they had with them; though, perhaps, they are the moſt artful ambuſcaders, and wolfiſh ſavages, in America.—But, having no rivers in their own country, very few of them can ſwim, which often proves inconvenient and dangerous, when they are in purſuit of the enemy, or purſued by them. We ſhould be politically ſorry for their differences with each other to be reconciled, as long experience convinces us they cannot live without ſhedding human blood ſomewhere or other, on account of their jealous and fierce tempers, in reſentment of any kind of injury, and the martial preferment each obtains for every ſcalp of an enemy. They are ſo extremely anxious to be diſtinguiſhed by high war-titles, that ſometimes a ſmall party of warriors, on failing of ſucceſs in their campaign, have been detected in murdering ſome of their own people, for the ſake of their ſcalps. We cannot expect that they will obſerve better faith towards us—therefore common ſenſe and ſelf-love ought to direct us to chuſe the leaſt of two unavoidable evils; ever to keep the wolf from our own doors, by engaging him with his wolfiſh neighbours: at leaſt, the officious hand of folly ſhould not part them, when they are earneſtly engaged in their favourite element againſt each other.

All the other Indian nations we have any acquaintance with, are viſibly and faſt declining, on account of their continual mercileſs wars, the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and the infectious ravaging nature of the ſmall pox: but the Muſkohge have few enemies, and the traders with them have taught them to prevent the laſt contagion from ſpreading among their towns, by cutting off all communication with thoſe who are infected, till the danger is over. Beſides, as the men rarely go to war till they have helped the women to plant a ſufficient plenty of proviſions, contrary to the uſual method of warring ſavages, it is ſo great a help to propagation, that by this means alſo, and their artful policy of inviting decayed tribes to incorporate with them, I am aſſured by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed character, who ſpeaks their language as well as their beſt orators, they have increaſed double in number within the ſpace of thirty years paſt, notwithſtanding their widows are confined to a ſtrict ſtate of celibacy, for the full ſpace of four years after the death of their huſbands. When we conſider that two or three will go ſeveral hundred miles, to way-lay an enemy—the contiguous ſituation of ſuch a prodigious number of corrupt, haughty, and miſchievous ſavages to our valuable colonies, ought to draw our attention upon them. Thoſe of us who have gained a ſufficient knowledge of Indian affairs, by long experience and obſervation, are firmly perſuaded that the ſeeds of war are deeply implanted in their hearts againſt us; and that the allowing them, in our uſual tame manner, to inſult, plunder, and murder peaceable Britiſh ſubjects, only tempts them to engage deeper in their diabolical ſcenes of blood, till they commence a dangerous open war againſt us: the only probable means to preſerve peace, is either to ſet them and their rivals on one another, or by prudent management, influence them to employ themſelves in raiſing ſilk, or any other ſtaple commodity that would beſt ſuit their own temper and climate. Prudence points out this, but the taſk is too arduous for ſtrangers ever to be able to effect, or they care not about it.

Before the late ceſſion of Eaſt and Weſt Florida to Great Britain, the country of the Muſkohge lay between the territories of the Engliſh, Spaniards, French, Choktah, Chikkaſah, and Cheerake.—And as they had a water carriage, from the two Floridas; to ſecure their liberties, and a great trade by land from Georgia and South-Carolina, this nation regulated the Indian balance of power in our ſouthern parts of North-America; for the French could have thrown the mercenary Choktah, and the Miſſiſippi ſavages, into the ſcale, whenever their intereſt ſeemed to require it. The Muſkohge having three rival chriſtian powers their near neighbours, and a French garriſon on the ſouthern extremity of the central part of their country ever ſince the war of the year 1715; the old men, being long informed by the oppoſite parties, of the different views, and intrigues of thoſe European powers, who paid them annual tribute under the vague appellation of preſents, were become ſurpriſingly crafty in every turn of low politics. They held it as an invariable maxim, that their ſecurity and welfare required a perpetual friendly intercourſe with us and the French; as our political ſtate of war with each other, would always ſecure their liberties: whereas, if they joined either party, and enabled it to prevail over the other, their ſtate, they ſaid, would then become as unhappy as that of a poor fellow, who had only one perverſe wife, and yet muſt bear with her froward temper; but a variety of choice would have kept off ſuch an afflicting evil, either by his giving her a ſilent caution againſt behaving ill, or by enabling him to go to another, who was in a better temper. But as the French Alebahma Garriſon had been long directed by ſkilful officers, and ſupplied pretty well with corrupting brandy, taffy, and decoying trifles, at the expence of government, they induſtriouſly applied their miſchievous talents in impreſſing many of the former ſimple and peaceable natives with falſe notions of the ill intentions of our colonies. In each of their towns, the French gave a conſiderable penſion to an eloquent head-man, to corrupt the Indians by plauſible pretexts, and inflame them againſt us; who informed them alſo of every material occurrence, in each of their reſpective circles. The force of liquors made them ſo faithful to their truſt, that they poiſoned the innocence of their own growing families, by tempting them, from their infancy, to receive the worſt impreſſions of the Britiſh coloniſts: and as they very ſeldom got the better of thoſe prejudices, they alienated the affections of their offspring, and riveted their bitter enmity againſt us. That conduct of the Chriſtian French has fixed many of the Muſkohge in a ſtrong native hatred to the Britiſh Americans, which being hereditary, muſt of courſe increaſe, as faſt as they increaſe in numbers; unleſs we give them ſuch a ſevere leſſon, as their annual hoſtile conduct to us, has highly deſerved ſince the year 1760. I ſhall now ſpeak more explicitly on this very material point.

By our ſuperintendant's ſtrange purſuit of improper meaſures to appeaſe the Muſkohge, as before noticed, the watchful French engaged the irritated Great Mortar to inſpire his relations to cut off ſome of our traders by ſurpriſe, and follow the blow at the time the people were uſually employed in the corn-fields, leſt our party ſhould ſtop them, in their intended bloody career. They accordingly began their hoſtile attack in the upper town of the nation, except one, where their miſchievous red abettor lived: two white people and a negroe were killed, while they were in the horſe-pen, preparing that day to have ſet off with their returns to the Engliſh ſettlements. The trader, who was ſurly and ill-natured, they chopped to pieces, in a moſt horrid manner, but the other two they did not treat with any kind of barbarity; which ſhews that the worſt people, in their worſt actions, make a diſtinction between the morally virtuous, and vicious. The other white people of that trading houſe, happily were at that time in the woods;—they heard the ſavage platoon, and the death, and war-whoop, which ſufficiently warned them of their imminent danger, and to ſeek their ſafety by the beſt means they could. Some of them went through the woods after night, to our friend towns; and one who happened to be near the town when the alarm was given, going to bring in a horſe, was obliged to hide himſelf under a large fallen tree, till night came on. The eager ſavages came twice, pretty near him, imagining he would chuſe rather to depend on the horſe's ſpeed, than his own: when the town was engaged in dividing the ſpoils, his wife fearing ſhe might be watched, took a conſiderable ſweep round, through the thickets, and by ſearching the place, and making ſignals, where ſhe expected he lay concealed, fortunately found him, and gave him proviſions to enable him to get to our ſettlements, and then returned home in tears: he arrived ſafe at Auguſta, though exceedingly torn with the brambles, as his ſafety required him to travel through unfrequented tracts. In the mean while, the ſavages having by this inflamed their greedy thirſt for blood, ſet off ſwiftly, and as they darted along ſounding the news of war, they from a few, increaſed ſo faſt, that their voices conveyed ſuch thrilling ſhocks to thoſe they were in queſt of, as if the infernal legions had broken looſe through their favourite Alebahma, and were inveſted with power to deſtroy the innocent. The great Okwhuſke-town, where they reached, lay on the weſtern ſide of the large eaſternmoſt branch of Mobille river, which joins a far greater weſtern river, almoſt two miles below the late Alebahma; and the Engliſh traders ſtore-houſes lay oppoſite to the town. Thoſe red ambaſſadors of the French, artfully paſſed the river above the town, and ran along ſilently to a gentleman's dwelling houſe, where they firſt ſhot down one of his ſervants, and in a minute or two after, himſelf: probably, he might have been ſaved, if he had not been too deſperate; for a ſtrong-bodied leading warrior of the town was at his houſe when they came to it, who graſped him behind, with his face toward the wall, on purpoſe to ſave him from being ſhot; as they durſt not kill himſelf, under the certain pain of death. But very unluckily, the gentleman ſtruggled, got hold of him, threw him to the ground, and ſo became too fair a mark.—Thus the Frenchified ſavages cut off, in the bloom of his youth, the ſon of J. R. Eſq; Indian trading merchant of Auguſta, who was the moſt ſtately, comely, and gallant youth, that ever traded in the Muſkohge country, and equally bleſt with every ſocial virtue, that attracts eſteem. The very ſavages lament his death to this day, though it was uſual with him to correct as many of the ſwaggering heroes, as could ſtand round him in his houſe, when they became impudent and miſchievous, through the plea of drinking ſpirituous liquors: when they recover from their bacchanal phrenzy, they regard a man of a martial ſpirit, and contemn the puſillanimous.

While the town was in the utmoſt ſurpriſe, the ambitious warriors were joyfully echoing—“ all is ſpoiled;” and ſounding the death-whoop, they, like ſo many infernal furies commiſſioned to deſtroy, ſet off at full ſpeed, diſperſing their bloody legions to various towns, to carry general deſtruction along with them. But before any of their companies reached to the Okchai war-town, (the native place of the Great Mortar) the inhabitants had heard the maſſacre was begun, and according to their rule, killed two of our traders in their houſe, when quite off their guard: as theſe traders were brave, and regardleſs of danger by their habit of living, the ſavages were afraid to bring their arms with them, it being unuſual,

uſual, by reaſon of the ſecure ſituation of the town. A few therefore entered the houſe, with a ſpecious pretence, and intercepted them from the fire-arms, which lay on a rack, on the front of the chimney; they inſtantly ſeized them, and as they were loaded with large ſhot, they killed thoſe two valuable and intrepid men, and left them on the fire—but if they had been a few minutes fore-warned of the danger, their lives would have coſt the whole town very dear, unleſs they had kindled the houſe with fire-arrows.

Like peſtilential vapours driven by whirlwinds, the miſchievous ſavages endeavoured to bring deſolation on the innocent objects of their fury, wherever they came: but the different flights of the trading people, as well as their own expertneſs in the woods, and their connections with the Indians, both by marriage and other ties of friendſhip, diſappointed the accompliſhment of the main point of the French diabolical ſcheme of dipping them all over in blood. By ſundry means, a conſiderable number of our people met at the friendly houſe of the old Wolf-King, two miles from the Alebahma Fort, where that faithful ſtern chieftain treated them with the greateſt kindneſs. But, as the whole nation was diſtracted, and the neighbouring towns were devoted to the French intereſt, he found that by having no fortreſs, and only forty warriors in his town, he was unable to protect the refugees. In order therefore to keep good faith with his friends, who put themſelves under his protection, he told them their ſituation, ſupplied thoſe of them with arms and ammunition who chanced to have none, and conveyed them into a contiguous thick ſwamp, as their only place of ſecurity for that time; "which their own valour, he ſaid, he was ſure would maintain, both againſt the French, and their mad friends." He was not miſtaken in his favourable opinion of their war abilities, for they ranged themſelves ſo well, that the enemy found it impracticable to attack them, without ſuſtaining far greater loſs than they are known to hazard.—He ſupplied them with neceſſaries, and ſent them ſafe at length to a friendly town, at a conſiderable diſtance, where they joined ſeveral other traders, from different places, and were ſoon after ſafely eſcorted to Savanah.

It is ſurpriſing how thoſe hardy men evaded the dangers they were ſurrounded with, eſpecially at the beginning, and with ſo little loſs. One of them told me, that while a party of the ſavages were on a corn-houſe ſcaffold, painting themſelves red and black, to give the cowardly blow to him and his companions, an old woman overheard them concerting their bloody deſign, and ſpeedily informed him of the threatening danger: he mentioned the intended place of meeting to his friends, and they immediately ſet off, one this way, and another that, to prevent a purſuit, and all met ſafe, to the great regret of the Chriſtian French and their red hirelings. I was informed that another conſiderable trader, who lived near a river, on the outſide of a town, where he ſtood ſecure in the affection of his ſavage brethren, received a viſit from two luſty ill-looking ſtrangers, without being diſcovered by any of the inhabitants. They were anointed with bear's oil, and quite naked, except a narrow ſlip of cloth for breeches, and a light blanket. When they came in, they looked around, wild and confuſed, not knowing how to execute the French commiſſion, conſiſtently with their own ſafety, as they brought no arms, leſt it ſhould have diſcovered their intentions, and by that means expoſed them to danger. But they ſeated themſelves near the door, both to prevent his eſcape, and watch a favourable opportunity to perpetrate their murdering ſcheme. His white domeſtics were a little before gone into the woods; and he and his Indian wife were in the ſtorehouſe, where there chanced to be no arms of defence, which made his eſcape the more hazardous. He was nearly in the ſame light dreſs, as that of his viſitants, according to the mode of their domeſtic living: he was about to give them ſome tobacco, when their countenances growing more gloomy and fierce, were obſerved by his wife, as well as the miſchievous direction of their eyes; preſently therefore as they bounded up, the one to lay hold of the white man, and the other of an ax that lay on the floor, ſhe ſeized it at the ſame inſtant, and cried, "huſband fight ſtrong, and run off, as becomes a good warrior." The ſavage ſtrove to lay hold of him, till the other could diſengage himſelf from the ſharp ſtruggle the woman held with him; but by a quick preſence of mind, the huſband decoyed his purſuer round a large ladder that joined the loft, and being ſtrong and ſwift-footed, he there took the advantage of his too eager adverſary, daſhed him to the ground, and ran out of the houſe, full ſpeed to the river, bounded into it, ſoon made the oppoſite ſhore, and left them at the ſtore-houſe, from whence the woman, as a truſty friend, drove them off, with the utmoſt deſpight,—her family was her protection. The remaining part of that day, he ran a great diſtance through the woods, called at night on ſuch white people, as he imagined his ſafety allowed him, was joined by four of them, and went together to Penſacola. Within three or four days-march of that place, the lands, they told me, were in general, either boggy and low, or conſiſting of ſandy pine-barrens. Although they were almoſt naked, and had lived for many days on the produce of the woods, yet the daſtardly Spaniards were ſo hardened againſt the tender feelings of nature in favour of the diſtreſſed, who now took ſanctuary under the Spaniſh flag, as to refuſe them every kind of aſſiſtance; contrary to the hoſpitable cuſtom of the red ſavages, even towards thoſe they devote to the fire. A north-country ſkipper, who rode in the harbour, was equally diveſted of the bowels of compaſſion toward them, notwithſtanding their preſſing entreaties, and offers of bills on very reſpectable perſons in Charles-Town. But the commandant of the place ſoon inſtructed him very feelingly in the common laws of humanity; for on ſome pretext, he ſeized the veſſel and cargo, and left the narrow-hearted miſer to ſhift for himſelf, and return home as he could: thoſe unfortunate traders were kindly treated however by the head-man of an adjacent town of the Apalahche Indians, who being a conſiderable dealer, ſupplied them with every thing they ſtood in need of, till, in time, they were recalled; for which they ſoon very thankfully paid him and the reſt of his kind family, with handſome preſents, as a token of their friendſhip and gratitude.

In the mean while, ſome of the eloquent old traders continued in their towns, where the red flag of defiance was hung up day and night, as the French had no intereſt there: and, in a few other towns, ſome of our thoughtleſs young men, who were too much attached to the Indian life, from an early purſuit in that wild and unlimited country, choſe to run any riſk, rather than leave their favourite ſcenes of pleaſure. In the day-time, they kept in the moſt unfrequented places, and uſually returned at night to their friend's houſe: and they followed that dangerous method of living a conſiderable time, in different places, without any miſchance. One of them told me, that one evening, when he was returning to his wife's houſe on horſe-back, before the uſual time, he was overtaken by a couple of young warriors, who pranced up along aſide of him. They ſpoke very kindly according to their cuſtom, that they might ſhed blood, like wolves, without hazarding their own carcaſes. As neither of them had any weapons, except a long knife hanging round their neck in a ſheath, they were afraid to attack him, on ſo hazardous a lay. Their queſtions, cant language, and diſcompoſed countenances, informed him of their bloody intentions, and cautioned him from falling into any of their wily ſtratagems, which all cowards are dextrous in forming. When they came to a boggy cane-branch, they ſtrove to perſuade him to alight, and reſt a little, but finding their labour in vain, they got down: one prepared a club to kill him, and the other a ſmall frame of ſplit canes tied together with bark, to bear his ſcalp—ſeeing this, he ſet off with the bravado whoop, through the high lands, and as he rode a ſwift horſe, he left them out of ſight in an inſtant. He took a great ſweep round, to avoid an after-chaſe. At night, he went to the town, got fire-arms, and proviſions, and ſoon arrived ſafe in Georgia.

Other inſtances may be related, but theſe will ſuffice to ſhew how ſerviceable ſuch hardy and expert men would be to their country, as heretofore, if our Indian trade was properly regulated; and how exceedingly preferable the tenth part of their number would prove againſt boaſted regular troops, in the woods. Though the britiſh legions are as warlike and formidable in the field of battle, as any troops whatever, as their martial bravery has often teſtified; yet in ſome ſituations they would be inſignificant and helpleſs. Regular bred ſoldiers, in the American woods, would be of little ſervice. The natives and old inhabitants, by being trained to arms from their infancy, in their wood-land ſphere of life, could always ſurround them, and ſweep them off entirely, with little damage to themſelves. In ſuch a caſe, field-pieces are a mere farce. The abettors of arbitrary power, who are making great advances through the whole Britiſh empire, to force the people to decide this point, and retrieve their conſtitutional rights and liberties, would do well to conſider this. Is it poſſible for tyranny to be ſo weak and blind, as to flatter its corrupt greatneſs with the wild notion of placing a deſpotic military power of a few thouſand regular troops, over millions of the Americans, who are trained to arms of defence, from the time they are able to carry them—generally inured to dangers, and all of them poſſeſſing, in a high degree, the ſocial virtues of their manly free-minded fore-fathers, who often bled in the noble cauſe of liberty, when hateful tyranny perſiſted in ſtretching her rod of oppreſſion over their repining country? Tyrants are obſtinately deaf, and blind; they will ſee and hear only through the falſe medium of ſelf-intereſted court-flatterers, and, inſtead of redreſſing the grievances of the people, have ſometimes openly deſpiſed and inſulted them, for even exhibiting their modeſt prayers at the foot of the throne, for a reſtoration of their rights and privileges. Some however have been convinced in the end they were wrong, and have juſtly ſuffered by the anathematizing voice of God and a foederal union. That "a prince can do no ill" is a flat contradiction of reaſon and experience, and of the Engliſh Magna Charta.

Soon after Weſt-Florida was ceded to Great-Britain, two warlike towns of the *Koo-a-ſah te* Indians removed from near the late dangerous Alabahma French garriſon, to the Choktah country about twenty-five miles below Tumbikbe—a ſtrong wooden fortreſs, ſituated on the weſtern ſide of a high and firm bank, overlooking a narrow deep point of the river of Mobille, and diſtant from that capital, one hundred leagues. The diſcerning old war-chieftain of this remnant, perceived that the proud Muſkohge, inſtead of reforming their conduct towards us, by our mild remonſtrances, grew only more impudent by our lenity; therefore being afraid of ſharing the juſtly deſerved fate of the others, he wiſely withdrew to this ſituation; as the French could not poſſibly ſupply them, in caſe we had exerted ourſelves, either in defence of our properties, or in revenge of the blood they had ſhed. But they were ſoon forced to return to their former place of abode, on account of the partiality of ſome of them to their former confederates; which proved lucky in its conſequences, to the traders, and our ſouthern colonies: for, when three hundred warriors of the Muſkohge were on their way to the Choktah to join them in a war againſt us, two Kooaſâhte horſemen, as allies, were allowed to paſs through their ambuſcade in the evening, and they gave notice of the impending danger. Theſe Kooaſâhte Indians, annually ſanctify the mulberries by a public oblation, before which, they are not to be eaten; which they ſay, is according to their ancient law.

I am aſſured by a gentleman of character, who traded a long time near the late Alebahma garriſon, that within ſix miles of it, live the remains of ſeven Indian nations, who uſually converſed with each other in their own different dialects, though they underſtood the Muſkohge language; but being naturalized, they were bound to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the main original body. Theſe reduced, broken tribes, who have helped to multiply the Muſkohge to a dangerous degree, have alſo a fixed oral tradition, that they formerly came from South-America, and, after ſundry ſtruggles in defence of liberty, ſettled their preſent abode: but the Moſkohge record themſelves to be terræ filii, and believe their original predeceſſors came from the weſt, and reſided under ground, which ſeems to be a faint image of the original formation of mankind out of the earth, perverted by time, and the uſual arts of prieſt-craft.

It will be fortunate, if the late peace between the Muſkohge and Choktah, through the mediation of a ſuperintendant, doth not ſoon affect the ſecurity of Georgia, and Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, eſpecially ſhould it continue long, and Britain and Spain engage in a war againſt each other: for Spain will ſupply them with warlike ſtores, and in concert, may without much oppoſition, retake the Floridas; which they ſeem to have much at heart. A Cuba veſſel, in the year 1767, which ſeemed to be coaſting on purpoſe to meet ſome of the Muſkohge, found a camp of them almoſt oppoſite to the Apalache old fields, and propoſed purchaſing thoſe lands from them; in order to ſecure their liberties, and, at the ſame time, gratify the inherent, ardent deſire they always had to oppoſe the Engliſh nation. After many artful flouriſhes, well adapted to ſoothe the natives into a compliance on account of the reciprocal advantages they propoſed, ſome of the Muſkohge conſented to go in the veſſel to the Havannah, and there finiſh the friendly bargain. They went, and at the time propoſed, were ſent back to the ſame place, but, as they are very cloſe in their ſecrets, the traders know not the reſult of that affair; but when things in Europe require, time will diſcloſe it.

As the Muſkohge were well known to be very miſchievous to our barrier-inhabitants, and to be an over-match for the numerous and fickle Choktah, the few warlike Chikkaſah, by being put in the ſcale with theſe, would in a few years, have made the Muſkohge kick the beam. Thus our ſouthern coloniſts might have ſat in pleaſure, and ſecurity, under their fig-trees, and in their charming arbours of fruitful grape-vines. But now, they are uncertain whether they plant for themſelves, or for the red ſavages, who frequently take away by force or ſtealth, their horſes and other effects. The Muſkohge chieftain, called the "Great Mortar," abetted the Cheerake againſt us, as hath been already noticed, and frequently, with his warriors and relations, carried them as good a ſupply of ammunition, as the French of the Alebahmah-garriſon could well ſpare: for by order of their government, they were bound to reſerve a certain quantity, for any unforeſeen occaſion that might happen. If they had been poſſeſt of more, they would have given with a liberal hand, to enable them to carry on a war againſt us, and they almoſt effected their earneſt wiſhes, when the Engliſh little expected it; for as ſoon as the watchful officer of the garriſon, was informed by his truſty and well inſtructed red diſciple, the Great Mortar, that the Cheerake were on the point of declaring againſt the Engliſh, he ſaw the conſequence, and ſent a pacquet by a Muſkohge runner, to Tumbikbe-fort in the Choktah country, which was forwarded by another, and ſoon delivered to the governor of New-Orleans: the contents informed him of the favourable opportunity that offered for the French to ſettle themſelves in the Cheerake country, where the late Fort-Loudon ſtood, near the conflux of Great Telliko and Tennaſe-rivers, and ſo diſtreſs our ſouthern colonies, as the body of the Cheerake, Muſkohge, Choktah, Aquahpa, and the upper Miſſiſippi-Indians headed by the French, would be able to maintain a certain ſucceſsful war againſt us, if well ſupplied with ammunition. Their deliberations were ſhort—they ſoon ſent off a large pettiaugre, ſufficiently laden with warlike ſtores, and decoying preſents; and in obedience to the orders the crew had received of making all the diſpatch they poſſibly could, in the third moon of their departure from New Orleans, they arrived within a hundred and twenty computed miles of thoſe towns that are a little above the unhappy Fort-Loudon: there they were luckily ſtopped in their miſchievous career, by a deep and dangerous cataract; the waters of which rolled down with a prodigious rapidity, daſhed againſt the oppoſite rocks, and from thence ruſhed off with impetuous violence, on a quarter-angled courſe. It appeared ſo ſhocking and unſurmountable to the monſieurs, that after ſtaying there a conſiderable time, in the vain expectation of ſeeing ſome of their friends, neceſſity forced them to return back to New Orleans, about 2600 computed miles, to their inconſolable diſappointment.

Theſe circumſtances are now well known to our colonies: and, if our ſtate policy had not ſufficiently diſcovered itſelf of late, it would appear not a little ſurpriſing that the Great Mortar, ſhould have ſuch influence on the great beloved man, (ſo the Indians term the ſuperintendant) as to move him, at a congreſs in Auguſta, to write by that bitter enemy of the Engliſh name, a conciliating letter to the almoſt-vanquiſhed and deſponding Choktah—for where the conquerors have not an oblique point in view, the conquered are always the firſt who humbly ſue for peace. This beloved epiſtle, that accompanied the eagles-tails, ſwans-wings, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco, was ſent by a white interpreter, and *Meſheſhecke*, a Muſkohge war-chieftain, to the perfidious Choktah, as a ſtrong confirmation of peace. Without doubt it was a maſter ſtroke of court-policy, to ſtrive to gain ſo many expert red auxiliaries; and plainly ſhews how extremely well he deſerves his profitable place of public truſt. I am aſſured by two reſpectable, intelligent, old Indian traders, G. G. and L. M. G. Eſq; that they frequently diſſuaded him from ever dabling in ſuch muddy waters; for the conſequence would unavoidably prove fatal to our contiguous colonies. This was confirmed by a recent inſtance—the late Cheerake war, which could not have commenced, if the Muſkohge and Cheerake had not been reconciled, by the aſſiduous endeavours of an avaricious, and ſelf-intereſted governor. If any reader reckons this too bold, or perſonal, I requeſt him to peruſe a performance, entitled, "A modeſt reply to his Excellency J. G. Eſq;" printed in Charles-town, in the year 1750, in which every material circumſtance is ſufficiently authenticated.

When we conſider the defenceleſs ſtate, and near ſituation of our three ſouthern barrier colonies to the numerous Muſkohge and Choktah—what favourable opinion can charity reaſonably induce us to form of the continued train of wrong meaſures the managers of our Indian affairs have ſtudiouſly purſued, by officiouſly mediating, and reconciling the deep-rooted enmity which ſubſiſted between thoſe two miſchievous nations? If they could not, conſiſtent with the tenour of their political office, encourage a continuance of the war, they might have given private inſtructions to ſome diſcreet trader to ſtrive to influence them, ſo as to continue it.

It is excuſable in clergymen that live in England to perſuade us to inculcate, and endeavour to promote peace and good will, between the ſavages of the remote deſarts of America; eſpecially if they employ their time in ſpiritual affairs, to which they ought to be entirely devoted, and not as courtiers, in the perplexing labyrinths of ſtate affairs: but what can be ſaid of thoſe ſtates-men, who inſtead of faithfully guarding the lives and privileges of valuable ſubjects, extend mercy to their murderers, who have a long time wantonly ſhed innocent blood, and ſometimes with dreadful tortures? The blood cries aloud to the avenging God, to cauſe juſtice to be executed on their execrable heads: for a while they may eſcape due puniſhment, but at laſt it will fall heavy upon them.

When the ſuperintendant's deputy convened moſt of the Muſkohge head-men, in order to write a friendly mediating letter to the Chikkaſah, in behalf of the Muſkohge, the Great Mortar, animated with a bitter reſentment againſt any thing tranſacted by any of the Britiſh nation, introduced a conſiderable number of his relations, merely to diſconcert this plan. The letter, and uſual Indian tokens of peace and friendſhip, were however carried up by a Chikkaſah trader: but the Great Mortar timed it ſo well, that he ſoon ſet off after the other with ninety warriors, till he arrived within 150 miles of the Chikkaſah country, which was half way from the weſtern barriers of his own; there he encamped with 83, and ſent off ſeven of the ſtauncheſt to ſurprize and kill whomſoever they could. Two days after the expreſs was delivered, they treacherouſly killed two young women, as they were hoeing in the field; all the people being off their guard, on account of the late friendly tokens they received, and the aſſurance of the white man that there were no viſible tracks of any perſon on the long trading path he had come. This was the beginning of May, in the year 1768, a few hours after I had ſet off for South-Carolina. As ſoon as the ſculking barbarians had diſcharged the contents of their guns into their innocent victims, they tomohawked them, and with their long ſharp knives, took off the ſcalps, put up the death *whoo-whoop-whoop*, and bounded away in an oblique courſe, to ſhun the dreaded purſuit. The Chikkaſah ſoon put up their ſhrill war-whoop, to arm and purſue, and ſixty ſet off on horſe-back, full ſpeed. They over-ſhot that part of the woods the enemy were moſt likely to have fled through; and four young ſprightly Chikkaſah warriors who outran the reſt, at laſt diſcovered, and intercepted them;—they ſhot dead the Great Mortar's brother, who was the leader, ſcalped him, and retook one of the young women's ſcalps that was faſtened to his girdle. Three continued the chaſe, and the fourth in a ſhort time overtook them: ſoon afterward, they came up again with the enemy, at the edge of a large cane-ſwamp, thick-warped with vines, and china briers; there they ſtopped, and were at firſt in doubt of their being ſome of their own company: the purſued ſoon diſcovered them, and immediately inſwamped, whereupon the four were forced to decline the attack, the diſadvantage being as four to eight in an open engagement. In a few days after, I fell in with them; their gloomy and fierce countenances cannot be expreſſed; and I had the uncourted honour of their company, three different times before I could reach my deſtined place, on account of a very uncommon and ſudden flow of the rivers, without any rain. Between ſunſet and eleven o'clock the next day, the river, that was but barely our height in the evening, was ſwelled to the prodigious height of twenty-five feet perpendicular, and ſwept along with an impetuous force.

It may not be improper here to mention the method we commonly uſe in croſſing deep rivers.—When we expect high rivers, each company of traders carry a canoe, made of tannned leather, the ſides over-lapped about three fingers breadth, and well ſewed with three ſeams. Around the gunnels, which are made of ſapplings, are ſtrong loop-holes, for large deer-ſkin ſtrings to hang down both the ſides: with two of theſe, is ſecurely tied to the ſtem and ſtern, a well-ſhaped ſappling, for a keel, and in like manner the ribs. Thus, they uſually rig out a canoe, fit to carry over ten horſe loads at once, in the ſpace of half an hour; the apparatus is afterwards commonly hidden with great care, on the oppoſite ſhore. Few take the trouble to paddle the canoe; for, as they are commonly hardy, and alſo of an amphibious nature, they uſually jump into the river, with their leathern barge a-head of them, and thruſt it through the deep part of the water, to the oppoſite ſhore. When we ride only with a few luggage horſes, as was our caſe at *Sip-ſe*, or "Poplar," the above-mentioned high-ſwelled river, we make a frame of dry pines, which we tie together with ſtrong vines, well twiſted; when we have raiſed it to be ſufficiently buoyant, we load and paddle it acroſs the ſtilleſt part of the water we can conveniently find, and afterward ſwim our horſes together, we keeping at a little diſtance below them.

At the time we firſt began to ſearch for convenient floating timber, I chanced to ſtand at the end of a dry tree, overſet by a hurricane, within three feet of a great rattle ſnake, that was coiled, and on his watch of ſelf-defence, under thick herbage. I ſoon eſpied, and killed

him.

killed him. But an aſtrologer, of twenty years ſtanding among the Indians, immediately declared with ſtrong aſſeverations, we ſhould ſoon be expoſed to imminent danger; which he expatiated upon largely, from his imagined knowledge of a combination of ſecond cauſes in the celeſtial regions, actuating every kind of animals, vegetables, &c. by their ſubtil and delegated power. I argued in vain to huſh his groundleſs fears: however, while the raft was getting ready, another gentleman, to quiet his timorous apprehenſions, accompanied me with fire-arms, pretty near the path in the beforementioned cane-ſwamp, and we ſtaid there a conſiderable while, at a proper diſtance apart—at laſt we heard the well-mimicked voice of partridges, farther off than our ſight could diſcover, on which one of us ſtruck up the whoop of friendſhip and indifference; for I knew that the beſt way of arguing on ſuch occaſions, was by a firmneſs of countenance and behaviour. I then went near to my companion, and ſaid, our cunning man was an Aberdeen wizard, as he had ſo exactly foretold the event. The ſavages had both diſcovered our tracks, and heard the ſound of the ax. We ſoon met them; they were nine of the miſchievous *Okchai* town, who had ſeparated from the reſt of their company. We converſed a little while together upon our arms, and in this manner exchanged proviſions with each other—then we went down to the bank of the river, where they opened their packs, ſpread out ſome hairy deer and bear ſkins with the fleſhy ſide undermoſt, and having firſt placed on them their heavy things, and then the lighter, with the guns which lay uppermoſt, each made two knots with the ſhanks of a ſkin, and in the ſpace of a few minutes, they had their leathern barge afloat, which they ſoon thruſt before them to the other ſhore, with a ſurpriſingly ſmall deviation from a direct courſe, conſidering the ſtrong current of the water. When our aſtrologer ſaw them ſafe off, he wiſhed them a ſpeedy journey home, without being expoſed to the neceſſity of any delay. He was ſoon after carried ſafe over on our raft, though once he almoſt over-ſet it, either by reaſon of the abſence, or diſturbance, of his mind. Had he contracted a fever, from the impending dangers his knowledge aſſured him were not yet paſt, the cold ſweat he got when left by himſelf, while we were returning with the raft, and afterward ſwimming with the horſes, muſt have contributed a good deal to the cure. Soon afterwards, we came in ſight of their camp in a little ſpot of clear land, ſurrounded by a thick cane-ſwamp, where ſome traders formerly had been killed by the Choktah. Our aſtrologer urged the neceſſity of proceeding a good way farther, to avoid the danger. I endeavoured to convince him by ſeveral recent inſtances, that a timorous conduct was a great incentive to the baſe-minded ſavages, to do an injury, not expecting any defence; while an open, free, and reſolute behaviour, a ſhow of taking pleaſure in their company, and a diſcreet care of our fire-arms, ſeldom failed to gain the good will of ſuch as are not engaged in actual war againſt our country: he acquieſced, as I engaged to ſit next to the Indian camp, which was about a dozen yards apart from our's. He choſe his place pretty near to mine, but in the evening, I told him, that as I did not underſtand the Muſkohge dialect, nor they much of the Chikkaſah language, I would give him the opportunity of diverting himſelf at leiſure with them, whilſt on account of the fatigues of the day, I would repoſe myſelf cloſe at the root of a neighbouring tree. This method of encamping in different places, on hazardous occaſions, is by far the ſafeſt way. I told them, before my removal to my night quarters, that he was almoſt their countryman, by a reſidence of above twenty years among them,—their chieftain therefore readily addreſſed him, and according to what I expected, gave me an opportunity of decently retiring. But when he expected a formal reply, according to their uſual cuſtom, our aſtrological interpreter ſpoke only a few words, but kept pointing to the river, and his wet clothes, and to his head, ſhaking it two or three times; thereby informing them of the great danger he underwent in croſſing the water, which gave him ſo violent a head-ach, as to prevent his ſpeaking with any pleaſure. I laughed, and ſoon after endeavoured to perſuade him to go over a little while to their camp, as I had done, and by that means, he might know better their preſent diſpoſition; he replied with a doleful accent, that he was already too near them, to the great danger of his life, which he now too late ſaw expoſed, by believing my doctrine of bringing them to obſerve friendly meaſures, inſtead of puſhing beyond them as he had earneſtly propoſed. I aſked him how he could reaſonably fear, or expect to ſhun a ſudden death, no account of his knowledge of the ſtarry influences, and ſkill in expounding dreams, and eſpecially as he ſeemed firmly to believe the deity had pre-determined the exact time of every living creature's continuance here: upon this he prevaricated, and told me, that as I knew nothing of aſtrology, nor of the uſeful and ſkilful expoſition of important dreams, neither believed any thing of witches and wizards being troubleſome and hurtful to others, he could not imagine I believed any thing of a divine providence or a reſurrection of the dead; which were evidently, alike true, as appeared both by divine writ, and the united conſent of every ancient nation. He ſaid, people were ordered to watch and pray; I therefore could not be ruled by the ſcripture, for why did I go to bed ſo ſoon, and leave all that trouble to him. I told him, I wiſhed he might by prayer, obtain a calm compoſure of mind. He ſaid, I was the cauſe of all his uneaſineſs, by inducing him, contrary to his over-night's bloody dream, to lie ſo near thoſe wolfiſh ſavages. Then, in an angry panic, he curſed me, and ſaid, he ſhould not that night have prayed there, only that the devil tempted him to believe my damned lies, and ſin againſt the divine intimations he had received juſt before.

Within half a day's ride of Auguſta, I met the gentlemen who were appointed to meet certain head-men of the Muſkohge, to run a line, between Georgia and the Muſkohge country. The ſuperintendant's deputy before-mentioned, accompanying them; I then informed him of the bad ſituation of the Indian trade, both in the Chikkaſah, and Muſkohge nations—The cauſe thereof—The dangerous policy of having reconciled thoſe jarring warlike ſavages—the ill diſpoſition of the latter toward us,—and that it was the opinion of all the traders (one excepted) that nothing, but their hot war with the Choktah, prevented them from executing their miſchievous intentions againſt us. I ſaid this to the commiſſary before the ſeveral gentlemen; but his conduct, and that of his brother officer in the Chikkaſah country, were no way correſpondent to the advice. While he benefited the ungrateful Muſkohge, and gave them a plea to injure the traders, he was free from perſonal danger, from the red quarter; but one night at camp, after the line had been, at the friendly and artful perſuaſions of G. G. Eſq; run above twenty miles beyond the ſouthern limits agreed upon, he almoſt fatally experienced the effects of their revengeful temper; which cannot be reſtrained when they imagine themſelves really injured, and afterwards inſulted: for as he was chiding a noted warrior with ſharp language, the ſavage leaped up, ſeized the other's gun, cocked, and preſented it againſt his breaſt; but luckily he could not diſcharge it, as it was double-tricker'd, contrary to the model of their ſmooth-bored guns. The public prints, however, echoed the ſucceſs of our directors of Indian affairs, on this important occaſion; though it was entirely owing to the abilities and faithful application, firſt, of Mr. G. G. and afterwards of Mr. L. M. G. which the deputy almoſt prevented by his imprudent conduct, that had nearly coſt him alſo his life, and endangered the public tranquility.

In the year 1749, when I was going to Charles-town, under the provincial ſeal of South-Carolina, with a party of the Chikkaſah Indians, the ſmall-pox attacked them, not far from the Muſkohge country; which becoming general through the camp, I was under the neceſſity of ſetting off by myſelf, between Flint river, and that of the Okmulgeh. I came up with a large camp of Muſkohge traders, returning from the Engliſh ſettlements: the gentlemen told me, they had been lately aſſured at Auguſta by the Cheerake traders, that above a hundred and twenty of the French Shawano might be daily expected near that place, to cut off the Engliſh traders, and plunder their camps, and cautioned me, with much earneſtneſs at parting, to keep a watchful eye during that day's march. After having rode fifteen miles, about ten o'clock, I diſcovered ahead through the trees, an Indian aſcending a ſteep hill: he perceived me at the ſame inſtant, for they are extremely watchful on ſuch dangerous attempts—Ambuſcade is their favourite method of attack. As the company followed their leader in a line, each at the diſtance of a few yards from the other, all ſoon appeared in view. As ſoon as I diſcovered the foremoſt, I put up the ſhrill whoop of friendſhip, and continually ſeemed to look earneſtly behind me, till we approached near to each other, in order to draw their attention from me, and fix it that way, as ſuppoſing me to be the foremoſt of a company ſtill behind. Five or ſix ſoon ran at full ſpeed on each ſide of the path, and blocked up two vallies, which happened to be at the place of our meeting, to prevent my eſcape. They ſeemed as if their deſign was to attack me with their barbed arrows, leſt they ſhould alarm my ſuppoſed companions by the report of their guns. I obſerved that inſtead of carrying their bow and quiver over their ſhoulder, as is the travelling cuſtom, they held the former in their left hand, bent, and ſome arrows. I approached and addreſſed them, and endeavoured to appear quite indifferent at their hoſtile arrangement. While I held my gun ready in my right hand about five yards diſtant from them, their leader who ſtood foremoſt came and ſtruck my breaſt with the but-end of one of my piſtols, which I had in my left hand: I told him with that vehemence of ſpeech, which is always requiſite on ſuch an occaſion, that I was an Engliſh Chikkaſah; and informed him by expreſſive geſtures that there were two tens of Chikkaſah warriors, and more than half that number of women, beſides children, a little behind, juſt beyond the firſt hill. At this news, they appeared to be much confuſed, as it was unexpected for ſuch a number of warlike enemies to be ſo near at hand. This Shawano partly conſiſted only of twenty-three middle ſized, but ſtrong bodied men, with large heads and broad flat crowns, and four tall young perſons, whom I conjectured to be of the Cheerake nation. I ſpoke a little to a hair-lipped warrior among them, who told me he lived in *Tukkaſèhche*, a northern town of that country. The leader whiſpered ſomething to his waiter, which, in like manner, was communicated to the reſt, and then they all paſſed by me, with ſullen looks and glancing eyes. I kept my guard till they were out of arrow-ſhot, when I went on at a ſeemingly indifferent pace. But, as ſoon out of their view, I rode about ſeventy miles with great ſpeed, to avoid the danger of a purſuit, as I imagined they would be highly enraged againſt me for their double diſappointment. About ſun-ſet of the ſame day, I diſcovered more Indians a-head; but, inſtead of ſounding the uſual whoop of defiance, I went on ſlowly, and ſilently, a little way, reaſoning with myſelf about the ſafeſt method in ſo dangerous a ſituation: I had apprehenſions of their being another party of the Shawano company, ſeparated in that manner to avoid a purſuit; which otherwiſe might be very eaſy, by the plainneſs of their tracks, through the long graſs and herbage. But, at the critical time, when I had concluded to uſe no chivalry, but give them leg-bail inſtead of it, by leaving my baggage-horſes, and making for a deep ſwamp, I diſcovered them to be a conſiderable body of the Muſkohge head-men, returning home with preſents from Charles Town, which they carried chiefly on their backs. The wolf-king (as the traders termed him) our old ſteady friend of the Amooklaſah Town, near the late Alebahma, came foremoſt, harneſſed like a jack-aſs, with a ſaddle on his back, well girt over one ſhoulder, and acroſs under the other. We ſeemed equally glad to meet each other; they, to hear how affairs ſtood in their country, as well as on the trading path; and I to find, that inſtead of bitter-hearted foes, they were friends, and would ſecure my retreat from any purſuit that might happen. I told them the whole circumſtances attending my meeting the Shawano, with their being conducted by our deceitful Cheerake friends, who were deſirous of ſpoiling the old beloved white path, by making it red; and earneſtly perſuaded them to be on their guard that night, as I imagined the enemy had purſued me when they found I had eluded their bloody intention. After a long converſation together, I adviſed them to go home through the woods, to prevent a larger body of the lurking enemy from ſpoiling them, and their beloved country, by the loſs of ſo many old beloved men, and noted warriors. I ſaid this, to rouſe them againſt the Cheerake; well knowing that one pack of wolves, was the beſt watch againſt another of the ſame kind. They thanked me for the friendly notice I gave them, and the care I ſhewed for their ſafety, and engaged me to call the next day at a hunting camp, where was a war-leader, the ſon of the dog-king of the Huphale-Town, with a conſiderable number of their people, and deſire them to remove with all ſpeed to their camp, at the place they then fixed on. We ſmoked tobacco, and parted well pleaſed. According to promiſe, I went the next day to the camp, and delivered their meſſage, which was readily complied with. The Shawano whom I had eluded, after rambling about, and by viewing the ſmoke of fires from the tops of high hills and trees, and carefully liſtening to the report of guns, fell in with two Chikkaſah hunters, who were adopted relations of the Muſkohge, and killed, and ſcalped them, and then ran off to the northern towns of the Cheerake. This was the true and ſole cauſe of the laſt war between the Muſkohge and Cheerake: and the following account of the cauſe of thoſe nations entering into amity with each other, will, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, be found as true. The cauſe and direful effects are ſtill feelingly known to great numbers of the ſuffering inhabitants, which I inſert by way of caution to ſtates-men hereafter.

As the Indians have no public faith to ſecure the lives of friendly meſſengers in war-time, their wars are perpetuated from one generation to another, unleſs they are ended by the mediation of ſome neutral party. A very poliſhed courtier preſided in South Carolina, who was ſaid to have caſt a very earneſt eye on the ſuppoſed profits of the Cheerake trade, which were much leſſened by the Muſkohge war; and, in order to eſtabliſh it at its former value, ſo as to be worth ſome hazard, he exerted himſelf to reconcile the Muſkohge and Cheerake. If he ſucceeded, he was ſure to be ſomething in pocket, and could report at home, the profound peace he had effected between thoſe nations by his unwearied endeavours. He accordingly applied to ſome of the moſt intelligent and leading traders among thoſe warring ſavages, and attempted to perſuade them by the ruling motive of mutual intereſt, to be reconciled through his brotherly mediation. Though the Cheerake were great loſers in the war, yet the ſurviving relations of thoſe who had been killed without equal revenge of blood, were at firſt inflexible, and deaf to the mediation: but, by the oratory of ſome of their own ſpeakers who had not ſuffered, connected with our traders perſuaſions, each ſeparate family at laſt conſented to meet their enemies, at the time and place appointed by brotherly requeſt, and there bury the bloody tomohawk under ground, and ſmoke together, out of the friendly white pipe. But, as the Muſkohge were conquerors, and frequently returned home in their favourite and public triumphant manner, and had then no miſchievous views againſt the Engliſh, as at preſent, it was a very difficult taſk to reconcile them to our beloved man's pacific meaſures: their head-men had great ſway over the ambitious, and young riſing warriors, and by the former manly conduct of South-Carolina, in obtaining ſpeedy redreſs for every material injury, the more ſenſible and honeſt part of the old leading men were as much averſe to peace, as the light-headed warriors. They well knew the fickle and ungovernable temper of their young men, and ambitious leaders, when they had no red enemies to war with, to obtain higher war-titles by ſcalps—and their wiſdom ſaw at a diſtance, the dangerous conſequences that muſt attend a general peace: for a conſiderable time, therefore, they highly inveighed, and firmly guarded againſt it. But when a man's private intereſt coincides with what he intends to accompliſh, he is aſſiduous and more intent to effect it. This was verified by the unwearied diligence of the prime magiſtrate alluded to; he knew the Indians could not kill ſo many deer and beaver in the time of war as of peace, and by his addreſs, he perſuaded ſeveral of the leading traders, even contrary to their own outward ſecurity and inward choice, to exert their ſtrongeſt endeavours with the Muſkohge for a reconciliation with the Cheerake. The chief of thoſe trading gentlemen, who unwillingly involved himſelf in this pernicious affair, was the humane and intelligent L. M'G—l—wr—, Eſq. Each had their leſſons, to ſet forth the reciprocal advantages of the contending parties, by ſuch a coalition; but it was finiſhed by that gentleman's earneſt and well-timed application, connected with his great natural ſenſe, and eaſy flow of their own bold figurative way of expreſſion—and their favourable opinion of his ſteady, honeſt principles. Since that unlucky period, he has as often lamented his ſucceſs in that affair, as the diſcerning honeſt rulers of the Muſkohge oppoſed it. He told me, that when he was ſoliciting ſome of the head-men to comply with the fraternal propoſals of our kindly ruler, he unexpectedly met with a very ſharp repulſe;—for, when he had finiſhed his oration, on the diſadvantages of frowning war, and the advantages of ſmiling peace, an old war-leader retorted every paragraph he had ſpoken, and told him, that till then he always had reckoned the Engliſh a very wiſe people, but now he was ſorry to find them unwiſe, in the moſt material point: adding, "You have made yourſelf very poor, by ſweating, far and near, in our ſmoky town-houſes and hot-houſes, only to make a peace between us and the Cheerake, and thereby enable our young mad people to give you, in a ſhort time, a far worſe ſweat than you have yet had, or may now expect. But, foraſmuch as the great Engliſh chieftain in Charles Town, is ſtriving hard to have it ſo, by ordering you to ſhut your eyes, and ſtop your ears, leſt the power of conviction ſhould reach your heart, we will not any more oppoſe you in this mad ſcheme. We ſhall be ſilent concerning it; otherwiſe, I ſhould be as mad as you, if I reaſoned any more with one who is wilfully blind and deaf."

A number of their warriors met at Charles Town, at the time appointed: their high-ſtationed Engliſh friend then took a great deal of pains to inform them of the mutual advantages, that would accrue to them, by a firm peace, and he convinced their ſenſes of it, by a viſible proof; for he borrowed from one of them an arrow, and holding each end of it in his hands, he readily broke it, which ſurprized none of the red ſpectators, except the owner,—they did not then regard it as a ſymbolical performance, but a boyiſh action. He again requeſted from the ſame young warrior, the loan of his remaining ſheaf of arrows, who reluctantly gave them, as he feared they would all ſingly fare the fate of the former. But, when he held the bundle by each end in his hands, and could only bend it a little, he revived the watchful owner, and pleaſingly ſurprized the attentive ſavages, as he thereby had ſtrongly demonſtrated to them, that *vis unita fortior*, upon which he expatiated, in eaſy fine language, to the great joy of his red audience. By ſuch evidence, they were induced to ſhake hands firmly together; and likewiſe to endeavour to preſerve a perpetual union with all their neighbouring nations, leſt the wolf ſhould attack them ſeparately. And ever ſince that impolitic mediation, they have been ſo ſtrongly convinced of their great advantage and ſecurity,

curity, by a cloſe friendly union with each other, that all the efforts of the wiſe and honeſt Georgia patriot, Governor Ellis, in concert with the Indian trading merchants, to diſſolve it in the year 1760, proved abortive with the wary and jealous Muſkohge, while we were at war with the Cheerake—and many of the out-ſettlers of Georgia and South Carolina were plundered and murdered by them, without ſparing women or children; many inſtances of which we were too often well acquainted with on the ſpot. The Cheerake, however, ſtood in ſuch great awe of about ſixty Chikkaſah warriors, that except once when they were repulſed by a treble inferior number, they durſt not attempt any ſort of attack on Georgia barriers, during the whole continuance of the war. The wiſdom of the ruling members of that weak colony directed them, in their dangerous circumſtances, to chuſe the leaſt of two evils,—to humour, and bear with thoſe miſchievous Muſkohge, rather than involve themſelves in a complicated war with thoſe two confederated nations; which muſt have ruined Georgia, in the weak condition it then was. And, notwithſtanding they have conſiderably increaſed ſince, both in wealth and number of inhabitants, it is probable, the colony is now leſs capable of bearing with any ſort of firmneſs, a ſudden ſhock from theſe ſavages, than they were at that time. For, though the people were then fewer in numbers; yet their ſettlements were more compact. By this means, they could eaſily join in ſocial defence, on any alarm: and, as the circumſtances of moſt of them did not tempt them to enervating luxury, ſo the needful exerciſes they daily purſued, enabled them to make a diverſion of ranging the woods, when occaſion required. Plantations are now ſettled, often at a great diſtance from each other, even to the outmoſt boundaries of the colony, where commonly the beſt gunſmen reſide, but who probably would be cut off by ſurprize, at the firſt onſet: and, lower down, their diſperſed ſettlements are often ſeparated, either by difficult or unpaſſable moraſſes,—ſlow running black waters,—or broken ſalt-water ſounds; which of courſe would be a great impediment to the people ſupporting each other: ſo that each plantation is expoſed to a ſeparate aſſault, by a ſuperior body of thoſe cunning ſavages, who attack, and fly away like a ſudden thunder guſt. We have no ſure way to fight them, but in carrying the war into the bowels of their own country, by a ſuperior body of the provincial troops, mixed with regulars; and as we can expect no mercy in caſe of a defeat, we ſhould not deſpiſe their power, but prepare ourſelves for a ſure conqueſt.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CHOKTAH NATION, &c.

THE Choktah country lies in about 33 and 34 Deg. N. L. According to the courſe of the Indian path, their weſtern lower towns are ſituated two hundred computed miles to the northward of New Orleans; the upper ones an hundred and ſixty miles to the ſouthward of the Chikkaſah nation; 150 computed miles to the weſt of the late dangerous French Alebahma garriſon, in the Muſkohge country; and 150 to the north of Mobille, which is the firſt ſettlement, and only town, except New Orleans, that the French had in Weſt-Florida.

Their country is pretty much in the form of an oblong ſquare. The barrier towns, which are next to the Muſkohge and Chikkaſah countries, are compactly ſettled for ſocial defence, according to the general method of other ſavage nations; but the reſt, both in the center, and toward the Miſſiſippi, are only ſcattered plantations, as beſt ſuits a ſeparate eaſy way of living. A ſtranger might be in the middle of one of their populous extenſive towns, without ſeeing half a dozen of their houſes, in the direct courſe of his path. The French, to intimidate the Engliſh traders by the prodigious number of their red legions in Weſt-Florida, boaſted that the Choktah conſiſted of nine thouſand men fit to bear arms: but we find the true amount of their numbers, ſince Weſt-Florida was ceded to us, to be not above half as many as the French report aſcertained. And, indeed, if the French and Spaniſh writers of the American Aborigines, had kept ſo near the truth, as to mix one half of realities, with their flouriſhing wild hyperboles, the literati would have owed them more thanks than is now their due.

Thoſe who know the Choktah, will firmly agree in opinion with the French, concerning them, that they are in the higheſt degree, of a baſe, ungrateful, and thieviſh diſpoſition—fickle, and treacherous—ready-witted, and endued with a ſurprizing flow of ſmooth artful language on every ſubject, within the reach of their ideas; in each of theſe qualities, they far exceed any ſociety of people I ever ſaw. They are ſuch great proficients in the art of ſtealing, that in our ſtore-houſes, they often thieve while they are ſpeaking to, and looking the owner in the face. It is reckoned a ſhame to be detected in the act of theft; but, it is the reward they receive, which makes it ſhameful: for, in ſuch a caſe, the trader baſtinadoes the covetous ſinner, almoſt as long as he ſeems ſenſible of pain. A few years ago, one of the Chikkaſah warriors told me, he heard a middle-aged Choktah warrior, boaſt in his own country, at a public ball-play, of having artfully ſtolen ſeveral things from one and another trader, to a conſiderable amount, while he was cheapening goods of us, and we were blind in our own houſes.

As their country is pleaſantly interſperſed with hills, and generally abounds with ſprings and creeks, or ſmall brooks; and is in a happy climate, it is extremely healthful. Having no rivers in their country, few of them can ſwim, like other Indians; which often proves hurtful to them, when high freſhes come on while they are out at war. Their towns are ſettled on ſmall ſtreams that purl into Mobille river, and another a little to the ſouthward of it. Kooſah, the largeſt town in their nation, lies within 180 miles of Mobille, at a ſmall diſtance from the river which glides by that low, and unhealthy old capital. The ſummer-breezes paſs by Mobille, in two oppoſite directions, along the channel of the river; and very unhealthy vapours keep floating over the ſmall ſemicircular opening of the town, which is on the ſouth-ſide of the river, oppoſite to a very low marſh, that was formed by great torrents of water, ſweeping down rafts of fallen trees, till they ſettled there, and were mixt with the black ſoil of the low lands, carried, and ſubſiding there in the like manner. From thence, to the oppoſite ſhore, the river hath a ſandy bottom, and at low water is ſo very ſhallow, that a perſon could almoſt walk acroſs, though it is two leagues broad. The ſouthern ſide of the river is ſo full of great trees, that ſloops and ſchooners have conſiderable difficulty in getting up abreaſt: and for a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea-coaſt, the land is low, and generally unfit for planting, even on the banks of the river. About forty miles up, the French had a ſmall ſettlement of one plantation deep, from the bank of Mobille river. The reſt of the land is ſandy pine barrens, till within forty miles of the Choktah country, where the oak and the hiccory-trees firſt appear; from whence, it is generally very fertile, for the extenſive ſpace of about ſix hundred miles toward the north, and in ſome places, two hundred and fifty, in others, two hundred and ſixty in breadth, from the Miſſiſippi: This tract far exceeds the beſt land I ever ſaw beſides in the extenſive American world. It is not only capable of yielding the various produce of all our North-American colonies on the main continent, as it runs from the ſouth, towards the north; but, likewiſe, many other valuable commodities, which their ſituation will never allow them to raiſe. From the ſmall rivers, which run through this valuable large tract, the far-extending ramifications are innumerable; each abounding with evergreen canes and reeds, which are as good to raiſe cattle in winter, as the beſt hay in the northern colonies. I need not mention the goodneſs of the ſummer-ranges; for, where the land is good, it always produces various ſorts of good timber, ſuch as oak of different kinds; hiccory, wall-nut, and poplar-trees. The graſs is commonly as long and tender, as what the beſt Engliſh meadows yield; and, if thoſe vacant fertile lands of the Miſſiſippi were ſettled by the remote inhabitants of Virginia, the Ohio, and North-Carolina, they, from a ſmall ſtock, could in a few years raiſe a prodigious number of horſes, horned cattle, ſheep, and ſwine, without any more trouble than branding, marking, and keeping them tame, and deſtroying the beaſts of prey, by hunting them with dogs, and ſhooting them from the trees. Soon they might raiſe abundance of valuable productions, as would both enrich themſelves and their off-ſpring, and, at the ſame time, add in a very high degree to the naval trade and manufactures of Great-Britain.

The Choktah flatten their foreheads with a bag of ſand, which with great care they keep faſtened on the ſcull of the infant, while it is in its tender and imperfect ſtate. Thus they quite deform their face, and give themſelves an appearance, which is diſagreeable to any but thoſe of their own likeneſs. Their features and mind, indeed, exactly correſpond together; for, except the intenſe love they bear to their native country, and their utter contempt of any kind of danger, in defence of it, I know no other virtue they are poſſeſſed of: the general obſervation of the traders among them is juſt, who affirm them to be diveſted of every property of a human being, except ſhape and language. Though the French at Mobille, and ſome at New Orleans, could ſpeak the Choktah language extremely well, and conſequently guide them much better than the Engliſh (notwithſtanding we gave them a far greater ſupply of every kind of goods than they could purchaſe) yet, the French allowed none of them arms and ammunition, except ſuch who went to war againſt our Chikkaſah friends. One of thoſe outſtanding companies was compoſed alſo of ſeveral towns; for, uſually one town had not more than from five, to ſeven guns. When the owners therefore had hunted one moon, they lent them for hire to others, for the like ſpace of time; which was the reaſon, that their deerſkins, by being chiefly killed out of ſeaſon, were then much lighter than now. The French commandant of Tumbikpe garriſon ſuperviſed the trade, as none was ever choſen to preſide in ſo critical a place, unleſs well and early acquainted in the dialect, manners, and cuſtoms of the ſavages. The French Indian garriſons conſiſted of choſen provincial families, who had not the leaſt ſpark of that haughty pride and contempt, which is too often predominant, at leaſt among the ignorant part of the ſoldiery, againſt all, except their own fraternity. The Choktah were known to be of ſo fickle, treacherous, and bloody a diſpoſition, that only three or four pedlars were allowed to go among them at a time: when they returned to the fort, the ſame number went out again, with as many trifles as a ſmall barrel would conveniently contain. Thus they continued to amuſe the ſavages of low rank, but they always kept the head-men in pay. Theſe, at every public meeting, and convenient occaſion, gave ſtated energetic orations in praiſe of the French; and, by this means, the reſt were influenced. The pedlars thus got almoſt what they were pleaſed to aſk, in return for their worthleſs trifles. All the way up the numerous ſtreams of the Miſſiſippi, and down thoſe of Canada river, their wiſdom directed them to keep up the price of their goods, and, by that means, they retained the ſavages in the firmeſt amity with them; no trader was allowed among them, except thoſe of ſufficient ſkill, in that dangerous ſphere of life, and of faithful principles to government. The French very juſtly ſay, the Engliſh ſpoil the ſavages, wherever their trade extends among them. They were too wiſe ever to corrupt them, according to our modern mad ſchemes. They had two great annual marts, where the Indians came to traffic for their deer-ſkins, beaver, and peltry; the one, at Montreal; and the other, at the Illinois, under the cannon of thoſe garriſons. But the Philadelphians, in order to ingroſs the trade of the latter place, by a fooliſh notion of under-ſelling the old French traders, have ruined, and, as I am lately informed, entirely diſcontinued it. They who ſpeak ſo much in favour of lowering the Indian trade, ought firſt to civilize the ſavages, and convince them of the abſolute neceſſity there is of ſelling the ſame ſort of goods, at various prices, according to different circumſtances, either of time or place. While the preſent ill adapted meaſures are continued, nothing leſs than the miraculous power of deity can poſſibly effect the Indians reformation; many of the preſent traders are abandoned, reprobate, white ſavages. Inſtead of ſhewing good examples of moral conduct, beſides their other part of life, they inſtruct the unknowing and imitating ſavages, in many diabolical leſſons of obſcenity and blaſphemy.

When the Engliſh were taking poſſeſſion of Mobille, the French commander had given previous orders to a ſkilful interpreter, to inform the Choktah, that his Chriſtian Majeſty, for peace-ſake, had given up Mobille garriſon to the avaricious Engliſh nation; but at the end of three years, the French would return and ſee to what purpoſe they had applied it. The Choktah believed the declaration to be as true, as if ſeveral of their old head-men had dreamed it. The fore-ſighted French knew their fickle and treacherous diſpoſition, and that by this ſtory, well ſupported with preſents, they would be able, when occaſion required, to excite them to commence a new war againſt us. The maſterly ſkill of the French enabled them to do more with thoſe ſavages, with trifles, than all our experienced managers of Indian affairs have been able to effect, by the great quantities of valuable goods, they gave them, with a very profuſe hand. The former beſtowed their ſmall favours with exquiſite wiſdom; and their value was exceedingly inhanced, by the external kindly behaviour, and well adapted ſmooth addreſs of the giver. But our wiſe men in this department, beſtow the preſents of the government, too often, in ſuch a manner as to rivet the contempt they have imbibed againſt us; for I have been frequently upbraided, even by the old friendly Chikkaſah, when inebriated, that the Engliſh in general deſpiſed their friends, and were kindeſt to thoſe who moſt inſulted and injured them; and, that the ſureſt way for the red people to get plenty of preſents, was not to deſerve them, but to act the murdering part of the ill-hearted Muſkohge. In confirmation of their ſtrong invectives, they recited above ſeventy inſtances of the Muſkohge having murdered the Engliſh, not only with impunity, but with ſilent approbation; as they ſoon afterward received large preſents, which muſt be either as a due for the bloodſhed, or tribute given through fear. They enumerated ſome facts, which were attended with ſhocking circumſtances: as, an innocent mother of good report, and two of her little children, put to ſlow torture in boiling water; and ſeveral of the like nature, which the Muſkohge themſelves had informed them of in a way of boaſting, and to induce them to imitate their miſchievous, but profitable example. While we bear any cool premeditated acts of Indian hoſtility with that crouching baſe behaviour, ſuch paſſive conduct will ſerve only to tempt the Indians to advance in their favourite ſcience of blood, and commence a general war. For cowards they always inſult and deſpiſe, and will go any diſtance to revenge the blood of one of their tribe, even that of an old woman.

As it was confidently reported, that a military government would be continued by us in Weſt Florida, till it was thick ſettled, the French inhabitants imagining that event could not happen till doom's-day, moſtly retired to New Orleans, in order to ſhun ſuch a tyrannic police. They were afraid of being impriſoned, and whipped, at the Governor's caprice, and even for things unnoticeable in the eye of the law; for as he ruled imperial over the ſoldiery, he would expect all his orders to be readily obeyed by every other perſon, without any heſitation. Such things are too common in a military government, and it was fatally experienced in this. In order to eſtabliſh his abſolute power, as the merchants, and other gentlemen at Mobille, of generous principles deſpiſed it, he found a plea to contend with one of them, though it was both illegal, and entirely out of his element. A Choktah having bought a ſmall braſs-kettle of one of the principal merchants of that place, was perſuaded by a Frenchman, to return it, bring the value to him, and he would give him a better one in its ſtead; for there happened to be a very ſmall crack of no conſequence, and ſcarcely diſcernible, juſt above the rim. The Indian accordingly went to return it; but the gentleman would not receive it, as it was good, and fairly ſold at the uſual price. The Choktah went back to the Frenchman to excuſe himſelf in not being able to deal with him, as propoſed; who perſuaded him to complain to the Governor of the pretended injuſtice he had received from the merchant—he did, and the ruler gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify his pride, and aggrandize his power. He immediately ſent ſome of his underlings, with a poſitive verbal command to the gentleman, to cancel the bargain with the Choktah, and deliver to him what he claimed, on receiving his own: the free-born Briton excuſed his non-compliance, in a rational and polite manner, according to his conſtant eaſy behaviour. Upon this, like a petty tyrant, the chief ſent a file of muſqueteers for him. When he appeared before his greatneſs, he aſſerted the common privileges of a trading free ſubject of Great Britain, with decent firmneſs; and ſet forth the ill conſequences of giving the troubleſome ſavages an example ſo hurtful to trade, with other arguments well adapted to the occaſion. The return was, an order to thruſt the gentleman into the black-hole of the garriſon, where he was detained and treated as a capital criminal, till, by the loſs of health through the dampneſs of that horrid place, the love of life prompted him to comply with every demand. Had he waited the award of a court-martial, probably he would have had juſtice done him; for, except a couple of the officers of the commander's own principles, all the reſt blamed, if not deſpiſed him for his haughtineſs and ungenerous principles. This is a genuine ſample of military governments—the Canadians may expect many ſuch inſtances of juſtice and humanity in conſequence of the late Quebec act, if it be not repealed. While this military man acted in the magiſterial office, though in pain when not triumphing over thoſe peaceable ſubjects who would not ſtoop before him below the character of freemen, to flatter his lordly ambition; yet it was affirmed, he could not ſtand the ſight of the inebriated Choktah. One inſtance of his paſſive conduct toward them, deſerves to be recorded—As the centinels at the gates of his houſe, were ſtrictly ordered not to reſiſt the ſavages; theſe ſoon became ſo impudent as to inſult them at pleaſure; and one of them, without the leaſt provocation, ſtruck a ſoldier (while on his duty ſtanding centry) with a full bottle on his head, with that violence, as to break his ſcull; the unfortunate ſoldier languiſhed, and died, by the blow, without the leaſt retaliation; though ſo abſolutely needful in our early ſtate of ſettling that part of the continent.

We well know the fate of the Britiſh Americans in general, as to property, liberty, and life, if their court-enemies could but metamorphoſe them into aſſes, and quietly impoſe upon them military men as governors, and magiſtrates, to inforce a ſtrict obedience to their graſping hand, and boundleſs will. But, may our wiſe ſtateſmen henceforth rather keep them at home, and place them over ſuch mean ſpirits as have ſold their birth-rights for a meſs of pottage, and are degenerated from every virtue of the true and brave Engliſhman!

Though the French Americans were as deſirous of purchaſing Indian deer-ſkins and beaver as the Engliſh could well be; yet they wiſely declined, where the public peace and ſecurity required it. By their wiſdom, they employed the ſavages, as occaſion offered, and kept them entirely dependant. They diſtributed through each nation, a conſiderable number of medals and flouriſhing commiſſions, in a very artful gradation, ſo as to gratify their proud tempers, and obtain an univerſal ſway over them. They alſo ſent a gun-ſmith to each of their countries, to mend the locks of their guns, at the expence of government: and any warrior who brought his chieftain's medal as a certificate, was waited on, and ſent off with honour, and a very *bon grace*, to his entire ſatisfaction: with this, and other inſtances of good conduct, they led the ſavages at pleaſure. When the French evacuated the Alebahma garriſon, the Muſkohge deſpitefully objected againſt receiving any ſuch favours from us. Even our old friendly Chikkaſah were only tantalized with our friendſhip on that occaſion, for the gun-ſmith was recalled—which, joined with the reſt of the bad conduct of our managers of Indian affairs, vexed them ſo exceedingly, that they were on the point of committing hoſtilities againſt us, in the year 1769: ſo widely different is our Indian-trading conduct from that of the French.

They wiſely preferred the ſecurity of their valuable, but weak country to the dangerous profits of trade; they kept the beſt orators and the head-men as penſioners, on their ſide, and employed the reſt of the warriors in their favourite ſcience againſt the Chikkaſah. As with the high placed mercenaries in Great Britain, ſo it will be a very difficult taſk (for ſome time) to manage any of the Indians well, particularly the Choktah, unleſs they in ſome manner receive a favourite bribe, under the name of preſents, as they uſually had from the French. By reaſon of our miſconduct, and the fooliſh diſtribution of preſents, ſince Florida was ceded to us, they have been twice on the point of breaking with us, though the managers of our Indian affairs were at the ſame time echoing in the public papers of Georgia and South-Carolina, the peaceable and friendly diſpoſition of all the ſavage nations around the colonies. The Choktah were deſigned to ſtrike the firſt blow on their traders, and immediately to follow it on the inhabitants of Mobille; which, they imagined, they could eaſily effect by ſurpriſe in the night, and ſo enrich themſelves with an immenſe booty. The firſt of thoſe bloody plans was concerted againſt us, October the 18th 1765. The cauſe of which I ſhall relate.

In the eaſtern part of the Chikkaſah nation, there is a young, and very enterpriſing war-leader, called "the Torrepine Chieftain," or "The leader of the land-tortoiſe family:" his ambitious temper, which one of the traders at firſt imprudently ſupported againſt our old friendly war chieftain, *Pa-Yah-Matahah*, has unhappily divided the nation into two parties, which frequently act in oppoſition to any ſalutary meaſure, which is either propoſed, or purſued by the other. The Torrepine chief received an embaſſy from the Muſkohge Great Mortar to engage him againſt us, through a falſe pretence that we intended to take their lands, and captivate their women and children; as the vaſt ſtrides we lately made through that extenſive tract, from Georgia to New Orleans, and up the Miſſiſippi, all the way to the Illinois, he ſaid, would clearly convince ſo wiſe a people. He exhorted the Choktah war-leaders and old beloved men to rouſe their martial tempers to defend their liberty and property, and preſerve their holy places, and holy things, from the ambitious views of the impure and covetous Engliſh people, to liſten to the loud call of liberty, and join heart and hand in its generous defence, which they now could eaſily effect, by cruſhing the ſnake in its infant ſtate; whereas delay would allow it time to collect ſtrength, to the utter danger of every thing they held as valuable—that now was the time to avert thoſe dangerous evils, and that their mutual ſafety was at ſtake. He aſſured them from repeated experience, that the very worſt that could befall them would be only a trifling ſcolding in their ears, and preſents in their hands to make up the breach. The aſpiring Chikkaſah leader was, in a great meaſure, induced to fall in with that cunning deceiver's meaſures by having ſeen above ſixty of the Muſkohge head-men and warriors, who received conſiderable preſents from Geo. Johnſtone, Eſq; Governor of Weſt-Florida, at Penſacola. They told him our liberality proceeded intirely from fear; that when they killed any of our deſpicable and helpleſs ſwarms, they always received the like quantity, to quiet the martial hearts of their gallant young warriors; and that the ſole reaſon we were ſo frugal to the Chikkaſah, was owing to their unwiſe attachment to us; but if they followed their copy, they would ſoon become as rich as themſelves.

If the ſagacious, and gallant governor could have executed his will, they would not have thus boaſted—he warmly debated in council to order each of them to be ſecured, as hoſtages, and kept aboard a man of war in the harbour, till ſatisfaction was remitted for the unprovoked, and wilful murders that nation had committed on ſeveral of his majeſty's peaceable ſubjects: but his ſpirited reſolution was overborne by a conſiderable majority of votes. However, when they got home, they told our traders that his excellency's ſpeech was quite different to that of the beloved white man, meaning the ſuper-intendant, for it was very ſharp and wounding; and that his eyes ſpoke, and glanced the fire alſo which was burning in his heart. No people are more obſervant of the paſſions in the honeſt face than they. Their eyes and judgment are ſurpriſingly piercing; and in conſequence of this Governor's open, ſteady, virtuous conduct, all our neighbouring nations honour and love him, to this very day.

The Chikkaſah chief ſent his bloody embaſſy to the Choktah by a cunning and truſty uncle, who accompanied me to the late Tumbikpe-fort. I was ignorant of the miſchievous plan, till we arrived at camp, near the Great Red Captain's: there, in bed at night, I plainly overheard the whole, and ſaw the white ſwan's wings, and others painted red and black,—perſuaſive and ſpeaking emblems of friendſhip to the one party, and war, blood, and death to the other. They received thoſe baſe tokens, according to the miſchievous intention of thoſe who ſent them. As they are fond of novelty, the news was conveyed through the nation, with profound ſecreſy: beſides, they were very much rejoiced at ſo favourable an opportunity of making peace with the Muſkohge, who awed them exceedingly, on account of their repeated loſſes, which were chiefly occaſioned by their want

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of ſkill in ſwimming. Tumbikpe garriſon, a little before this time, was very unwiſely removed; but, to ſupply that wrong meaſure, our ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, ſtationed here one of his repreſentatives. He was as much unacquainted with the language, manners, and cuſtoms of the Indians, as his employer: and yet wrote a conſiderable volume how to regulate Indian affairs in general, and particularly in the Choktah country. Beſides his want of proper qualifications in ſo nice and difficult an office, he was in his temper ſo turbulent, proud, and querulous, that his preſence inſtead of quieting the ſavages, was more than ſufficient to diſoblige, and diſtract them, in the moſt friendly times. He lived in the deſerted garriſon, as a place of ſecurity, kept weighty pullies to the gates, and his own door ſhut, as if the place had been a monaſtery; which was the worſt meaſure he could poſſibly have purſued, conſidering the proud and familiar temper of thoſe he had to deal with, and the late ſoothing treatment of the French to them. *Kapteny Humma Echeto* "the Great Red Captain," ſent word to him he would call there, on a certain day, to confer with him on ſome material buſineſs. On account of their fluctuating councils in ſo weighty an affair as the intended war, he prolonged the time of going there, for the ſpace of eight days; the gentleman engaged me to ſtay till the affair was decided. I continued without the leaſt reluctance, as I ſaw the black ſtorm gathering, and hoped I might be able in ſome meaſure to diſpel it. When the Red Captain came, his chief buſineſs was to demand preſents, in the ſame manner they received them from the French, as the war-chiefs and beloved men were grown very poor; and to know whether our government would enable them to revenge their dead, by beſtowing on them ammunition to continue the war againſt the Muſkohge, who highly deſpiſed us, and frequently committed acts of hoſtility againſt our people. Contrary to my advice, he gave a plain negative to each of his queries, without conſidering contingencies—Becauſe the neighbouring town was ſilent, and very few of them came near the fort, he flattered himſelf that thoſe dangerous tokens proceeded intirely from the cold reception, and frequent denials he had given them; and that for the future, he could live there in a retired and eaſy manner. But had he taken the trouble to go among them, as I did, he might have ſeen by their gloomy faces what bitter rancour was in their hearts. Next day, I diſcovered at the moſt unfrequented part of the fort, which was near the ſouth eaſt corner, on the river-ſide, that the wary ſavages had in the night time forced two of the great poſts ſo far apart, as one perſon could eaſily paſs through at a time; as ſuch ocular proof might have made my hoſt uneaſy, I thought it wrong to moleſt his tranquillity by the diſcovery. The Red Chief would now drink no ſpirituous liquors, though I preſſed him to it. They know their weakneſs then, which might lead them to divulge their country's ſecrets,—a great diſgrace to a warrior. He went home with his heart greatly inebriated however, on account of the flat denials he had received; eſpecially, as the warriors would depreciate him for his ill ſucceſs.

In a few days after, I ſet off with my red companion, and lay all night at the Red Captain's houſe, which ſtands in one of their northern barrier towns. He walked out with me in the evening, but in his diſcourſe, he uſed as much evaſion and craft, as an old fox in his intricate windings to beguile the earneſt purſuers. At night his houſe was very quiet, as if their long heads and treacherous hearts were equally at reſt;—but I plainly ſaw into their favourite and laboured plan, and one of their females told me there was at that time, a great many head-men of different towns, at a neighbouring houſe, conferring together concerning the white people; and that ſhe believed their ſpeech was not good, as they did not allow any women or boys to hear it. The Red Chief and I parted like courtiers; it ſoon began to rain, ſo as to ſwell the waters to ſuch a conſiderable height, as rendered them unpaſſable to horſemen, whoſe circumſtances were not quite deſperate. The Choktah leader ſent a ſprightly young man, his nephew, with me, under pretence of accompanying me and the above-mentioned Chikkaſah warrior; but I was not without ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he was ſent to ſhoot me by ſurpriſe, as ſoon as he heard the whooping death-ſignal in purſuit of me. For they had ſent runners to call home thoſe who were hunting in the woods, and the laſt company of them we met, reaching our camp in the night, ſtaid there till the morning. We converſed together without the leaſt diſguiſe; they were confident the traders were killed, and their favourite war and death-cry would ſoon reach their liſtening ears. I thought it improper to make a jeſt of ſo ſerious an affair, and determined to ſet off, though my red companions endeavoured to delay me as much as they could. Early in the morning I took out my ſaddle, which the Choktah mentioned to the others through a ſuſpicion I intended to make my eſcape: but they quieted his jealouſy, by telling him I did ſo, only becauſe I was lazy to walk. About half a mile from camp, I ſoon catched and mounted one of my horſes, and ſet off, keeping clear of the trading path for about four miles, in order to perplex any purſuers that might be ſent after me. When my horſe tired, I led it on foot through the pathleſs woods about fifty miles, and heard no more of them. Had the Choktah known how to obtain a ſufficient ſupply of ammunition, they would at this very time, have commenced war againſt us. That only checked their bloody aim, to their unſpeakable grief, and prevented our being engaged in a dangerous war.

All our Indian-traders well know, that the miſconduct and obſtinacy of the firſt ſuper-intendant of Indian affairs, was the ſole occaſion of irritating the Great Mortar to become bitter-hearted againſt us, and devoting himſelf with a blood-thirſty deſire to injure us, wherever his black policy could reach. And as the firſt, by his ſtiff behaviour ſet on the Mortar,—his ſucceſſor, by ill-timed preſents inſtead of demanding ſatisfaction, gave him as good an opportunity as he could have deſired, to impreſs the warriors of his own and other nations, with a ſtrong opinion of our timid diſpoſition, and incapacity of oppoſing them. The impreſſion of Governor Johnſtone's ſpeech, plainly declares they would not have been ſo weak as to utter their baſe threats againſt us, to the Chikkaſah leader at Penſacola, only that they were previouſly corrupted by the miſmanagement of Indian affairs. I am well aſſured, they frequently applauded his martial conduct when they returned home, and ſaid he was a man and a warrior, which is as great an encomium, as they can beſtow on any mortal. May Weſt-Florida, and New Georgiana on the extenſive and fertile lands of the meandring Miſſiſippi, have a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch chief magiſtrates as Mr. Johnſtone, and his worthy ſucceſſor Montfort Browne, Eſq; to ſtudy and promote the public good, and cauſe the balance of juſtice to be held with an even hand!

The following relation will ſerve to diſplay what ſhould be our manner of treating the Indians—A white man, on Mobille river, ſold ſpirituous liquors to a couple of the Choktah, till they were much intoxicated, and unable to purchaſe any more; he then ſtrenuouſly denied to credit them: their uſual burning thirſt exciting them to drink more, they became too troubleſome for any ſpirited perſon to bear with. He took up an ax, at firſt in his own defence, but when they endeavoured to run off, he, in the heat of paſſion purſued, and unhappily killed one of them. The other ran, and told his relations the ſad diſaſter. Preſently, nothing could be heard through the nation, but heavy murmurs and ſharp threats. Governor Johnſtone had the murderer ſoon apprehended, and confined him to be tried in due courſe of law. This delay of executing juſtice on one, and whom we only ſecured from their reſentment as they imagined, tempted them to think on a general maſſacre. Soon after the ſitting of the general court, their revengeful hearts became eaſy: for the man was fairly tried, and condemned, becauſe he did not kill the ſavage in his own defence, but while he was retreating from him. I have reaſon to believe the Indians would not have allowed the French, when in garriſon among them, to delay ſhooting any of their people, whom they but even ſuſpected of having killed the meaneſt of their kindred: for, in the year 1740, the Muſkohge, on a falſe ſuſpicion, forced the commanding officer of the Alebahma garriſon, by their loud threats, to kill one of the militia ſoldiers. When they were leading him to the place of execution, he requeſted the favour of a bottle of wine, to enable him to die with the firm conſtancy of an honeſt French warrior: he received, and drank it off, and declared his innocence of the imputed crime, with his laſt words. The ſignal was given, and the ſoldiers, by order, quickly ſhot the unfortunate man. But the Engliſhman, who had been likewiſe a ſoldier, would not have been condemned by the mere aſſertion of the Choktah ſavage, coſt what it would; as it was both repugnant to our law, and too dangerous a precedent to give to ſo treacherous a people.—He was juſtly condemned on his companion's oath. His excellency Governor Johnſtone acted ſo fairly and tenderly in this affair, that, by his requeſt, one of the Chikkaſah traders was ſummoned to ſit on the trial, as he of a long time knew the baſe diſpoſition of the Choktah; but no favourable circumſtances appearing on his ſide, he was condemned.

Although the Choktah had their deſired revenge, yet, when their leader came parading into Tumbikpe garriſon, with a gun he had taken from a white man, whom he murdered on the Chikkaſah trading path; our ſuperintendant's repreſentative ſhamefully refuſed to act the part of the magiſtrate, or to impower the commanding officer of the Fort to ſecure the murderer, though he preſſed him with manly earneſtneſs, and proteſted that he would gladly confine him, were it not contrary to the tenour of his commiſſion. The ſavage having boaſted a while after his triumphal entrance, returned exultingly to his country-men, to the ſhame and regret of the traders. Our white beloved man thought himſelf beſt employed in other affairs than theſe, and doubtleſs, profitable family jobbs ought to be well minded.

His ſucceſſor was equally ſkilful in managing the Indians as himſelf, though much his inferior. His only merit was, the having been a clerk to the Chikkaſah white beloved man, who reſigned his place, on account of the diſcontinuance of his Britiſh pay. He corrupted and practiſed with the Indians, according to the ſyſtem his teacher purſued. One inſtance, among many, will ſhew this: a gentleman came to view the Miſſiſippi lands, from the ſettlements which are on the Yadkin, a large and beautiful river, that, after gliding down 300 miles to the Sand-hill, Wilmington, and the waſte Brunſwick, is ſtiled Cape-Fear-River. He was highly pleaſed with the ſoil, climate, and ſituation of the lands he came in queſt of: but told me, in a humorous manner, that, when he was at a French man's houſe, on the Spaniſh ſide of the river, a very luſty Choktah called there, in company with others upon a hunt. As the French Choktah was deſirous of ingratiating himſelf into the favour of the hoſt, he began to ridicule my friend with geſtures, and mocking language: the more civilly the Engliſhman behaved, ſo much the more impudently the ſavage treated him. At length, his paſſions were inflamed, and he ſuddenly ſeized him in his arms, carried him a few ſteps off, and threw him down the bank into the Miſſiſippi. The laugh now turned againſt him loud; for, if the Indians ſaw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horſe, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo. The Baptiſt, or dipped perſon, came out aſhamed, but appeared to be very good-humoured after his purification, as he found he had not one of the French wood-peckers to deal with. However, one night, when the gentleman was on his return, the ſavages purſued, and endeavoured to kill him, and did ſeize his horſes and baggage. He had a narrow eſcape for his life before he came to Quanſheto, where the towns-people of the late Great Red Shoes had ſettled, and our white beloved man reſided. He made his complaint to him, which might have been expected to produce both pity and juſtice in any heart that was not callous. But, inſtead of endeavouring to redreſs his grievance, which he could have eaſily effected, he aggravated his ſufferings by abuſe. As the ſavage had been brought up with the Engliſh traders, ſo as to be called the boy of one of them, and lived in *Yaſhoo*, the town of the preſent Red Shoes, our chief could eaſily have had every thing returned, had he only demanded it in form. But, like his predeceſſor, he endeavoured to keep in with the Indians — he deemed their favourable report of his friendly conduct toward them, to be the main point he ought to obſerve, in order to ſecure the embaſſy from ſuffering damage, whatever became of truth, or juſtice.

The Choktah have a remote, but conſiderable town, called *Yowanne*, which is the name of a worm that is very deſtructive to corn in a wet ſeaſon. It lies forty miles below the ſeven ſouthernmoſt towns of the nation, toward Mobille, and 120 computed miles from thence, on a pleaſant ſmall river, that runs ſouth of the town. As it is a remote barrier, it is greatly harraſſed by the Muſkohge, when at war with them. Here, a company of them came lately looking for prey; but miſſing it, as the Choktah were apprized, and ſtaid at home, their pride and diſappointment excited them to injure thoſe ſtrangers who chanced to fall in their way. About ſix miles below the town, they came to the camp of two white men, who were juſt ready to ſet off to Mobille, with loaded horſes; being reſolved not entirely to miſs their errand of blood and plunder, they attacked them with their tomohawks, cautious of not alarming the neighbouring enemy by the report of their guns. They ſpeedily diſpatched one of them; but the other being ſtrong bodied, very fiery, and deſperate, held them a ſharp ſtruggle, as it appeared afterward: his gun was found much battered, and the long graſs quite beat down for a conſiderable way round the place where the Yowanne Indians found him ſuſpended in the air. For as ſoon as thoſe ſavages perpetrated that diabolical act, they hanged each of them on trees, with the horſes halters, and carried away ſix of the horſes loaded with dreſt deer-ſkins, as far as Mobille-river. *Minggo Humma Echeto*, the Great Red Chieftain, of the aforeſaid town, on his return from war with the Muſkohge, fortunately intercepted them, killed and ſcalped two, and retook the horſes and leather. Theſe, he ſent home, as he imagined the owner then reſided in the nation, and would gladly redeem them with reaſonable preſents: while he went down to Mobille to ſhew his trophies of war, in full hopes of getting a new ſupply of ammunition from the deputy ſuper-intendant, to be uſed againſt the common enemy. He flattered himſelf that the ſcalps brought into our maritime town, in ſolemn

triumph,

triumph, would prove a gladſome ſight to our people, and enlarge their hearts towards him and his fatigued poor warriors. But he perceived nothing of this kind, of which he complained to me with very ſharp language, and returned home, highly incenſed againſt his new Engliſh friends.

I have reaſon to remember this too well; for, a little after thoſe white men were murdered, buſineſs calling me to Mobille by myſelf, I choſe to decline the eaſtern path, and the middle one that leads by the *Chakchooma* old fields, as they were much expoſed to the incurſions of the Muſkohge; and rode through the chief towns of the nation, along the horſe-path that runs from the Chikkaſah, neareſt the Miſſiſippi, to Mobille. About ſix miles below the ſeven-towns that lie cloſe together, and next to New Orleans, I met a conſiderable party of the leaders and head-warriors returning home from war. We ſhook hands together, and they ſeemed very glad to ſee me. They earneſtly diſſuaded me from proceeding any farther, adviſed me to return to their friendly towns, and reſt awhile among them, declaring, that if my ears were mad, and would not hear their friendly ſpeech, I ſhould ſurely be killed, the enemy were ranging the woods ſo very thick. They were good judges of the danger, as they knew the treacherous plan they had concerted together at *Yowanne.* But the memory of paſt times, moved them to give me that kindly caution. I thanked them, and ſaid, I wiſhed buſineſs allowed me to act according to their advice, and accept of their generous invitation; but it did not: however, if my limited days were not finiſhed before, I would ſhortly have the pleaſure to ſee them again. I proceeded, and met ſeveral parties of the ſame main company, ſeveral miles diſtant from each other, carrying ſmall pieces of a ſcalp, ſinging the triumphal ſong, and ſounding the ſhrill death-whoop, as if they had killed hundreds. On my reſting and ſmoking with the laſt party, they informed me, that their camp conſiſted of two hundred and fifty warriors, under great leaders, who were then returning from war againſt a town of the Koosaahte Indians, who had ſettled twenty-five miles above Mobille, on the eaſtern ſide of the river; that they had killed and wounded ſeveral of them, ſuſpecting them of abetting the Muſkohge, and fortunately got one of their ſcalps, which the warriors of ſeparate towns divided, and were carrying home, with joyful hearts.

A ſtranger would be much ſurpriſed to ſee the boaſting parade theſe ſavages made with one ſcalp of a reputed enemy. To appearance, more than a thouſand men, women, luſty boys, and girls, went loaded with proviſions to meet them; and to dance, ſing, and rejoice at this camp, for their ſucceſs in war, and ſafe return. Their camps were made with the green bark and boughs of trees, and gave a ſtriking picture of the eaſy and ſimple modes of early ages. Their chieftains and great warriors ſat in ſtate, with the aſſuming greatneſs of the ancient ſenators of imperial Rome. I had the honour to ſit awhile with them, and was diverted with the old circling and wheeling dances of the young men and women. I ſmoked with them, and then took my leave of this laſt camp of rejoicing heroes. The Choktah are the moſt formal in their addreſſes, of all the Indian nations I am acquainted with: and they reckon the neglect of obſerving their uſual ceremonies, proceeds from contempt in the traders, and from ignorance in ſtrangers.

I encamped early, and within two leagues of *Yowanne*, as it ſeemed to be a good place for killing wild game. I imagined alſo, that here the people were awed by the Muſkohge from ranging the woods, but, it happened otherwiſe: for, ſoon after the horſe-bells began to ring, two ſprightly young fellows came through the cane-ſwamp, and as enemies, they crawled up the ſteep bank of the creek, near to me, before I diſcovered them. My fire-arms were cloſe at hand, and I inſtantly ſtood on my guard. They looked earneſtly around, to ſee for the reſt of my company, as it is very unuſual for any of the traders, to take that journey alone. I aſked them who they were, from whence they came, and what they were ſo earneſtly ſearching for. They evaded anſwering my queries, and aſked me if I did not come by myſelf. I told them, without heſitation, that ſome way behind, my companion rode out of the path to kill deer, as his gun was good, and he could uſe it extremely well. On this, they ſpoke a little together, with a low voice; and then told me, that they belonged to *Yowanne*, and were part of a hunting camp, which was near at hand, and in view of the path. I aſked them to ſit down, which they did, but their diſcourſe was diſagreeable, as my ſuppoſed fellow-traveller was the chief ſubject of it. They ſaid they would go back to their camp, and return to mine ſoon, to ſee whether the white man was come from hunting. They went, and were as good as their word; for, they did me the honour to pay me a ſecond viſit. As they were ſo very earneſt in that which did not concern them, unleſs they had ill intentions, the ſight of them would have inſtantly inflamed the heart of one not infected with ſtoiciſm, to wiſh for a proper

place

place to make a due retribution. At this time, the ſun was near three hours from ſetting. The white hunter's abſence was the firſt and chief ſubject of their diſcourſe, till evening. As on a level place, all the ſavages ſit croſs-legged, ſo my viſitors did, and held their guns on their knee, or kept them very near, with their otter-ſkin ſhot pouch over one of their ſhoulders, as is uſual in time of danger. I obſerved their miſchievous eyes, inſtead of looking out eaſtwardly toward the Muſkohge country, were generally pointed toward the N. W. the way I had come. As by chance, I walked near to one of them, he ſuddenly ſnatched up his gun. No friendly Indians were ever known to do the like, eſpecially ſo near home, and a conſiderable camp of his own people: innocence is not ſuſpicious, but guilt. He knew his own demerit, and, perhaps imagined I knew it, from concurring circumſtances. To ſee whether his conduct proceeded from a fear of danger, or from accident, I repeated the trial, and he did the ſame; which confirmed me in my opinion of their baſe intentions.

In this uneaſy and reſtleſs manner we continued till ſun-ſet, when one of them artfully got between me and my arms. Then they ordered me to ſtop the bells of my horſes, which were grazing near the camp, (uſed partly on account of the number of big flies that infeſt the country.) I aſked them the reaſon — they told me, becauſe the noiſe frightened away the deer. I took no notice at firſt of their haughty command, but they repeated it with ſpiteful vehemence, and I was forced to obey their mandate. They looked, and liſtened earneſtly along the edge of the ſwamp, but being diſappointed of their expected additional prey, in about the ſpace of ten minutes they ordered me to open the bells again. Of the manifold dangers I ever was in, I deemed this by far the greateſt, for I ſtood quite defenceleſs. Their language and behaviour plainly declared their miſchievous deſigns. I expected every minute to have been ſhot down: and though I endeavoured to ſhew a manly aſpect, the cold ſweat trickled down my face through uneaſineſs, and a crowd of contrary paſſions. After ſome time, in this alarming ſituation, they told me the ugly white man ſtaid long, and that they would go to their camp a little while, and return again, — they did as they ſaid. To deceive them, I had made my bed as for two people, of ſoftened bear and buffalo ſkins, with the long hair and wool on, and blankets. My two watchmen came the third time, accompanied with one older than themſelves: he ſpoke little, was artful, and very deſigning. They ſeemed much concerned at the abſence of my ſuppoſed companion, leſt he ſhould by unlucky miſchance be bewildered, or killed by the Muſkohge. I gave them ſeveral reaſons to ſhew the futility of their kindly fears, and aſſured them he uſually ſtaid late to barbicue the meat, when he killed much, as he could not otherways bring it to camp; but that he never failed, on ſuch an occaſion, to come ſome time in the night. The cunning fox now and then aſked me a ſtudied ſhort queſtion, in the way of croſs examination, concerning the main point they had in view, and my anſwers were ſo cool and uniform, that I almoſt perſuaded them firmly to credit all I ſaid. When he could no way trepan me, and there was ſilence for ſeveral minutes, he aſked me, if I was not afraid to be at camp alone. I told him I was an Engliſh warrior,—my heart was honeſt—and as I ſpoiled nobody, why ſhould I be afraid? Their longing eyes by this time were quite tired. The oldeſt of them very politely took his leave of me in French; and the others, through an earneſt friendly deſire of ſmoking, and chatting a little with my abſent companion, told me at parting, to be ſure to call them, by ſounding the news-whoop, as ſoon as he arrived at camp. I readily promiſed to comply, for the ſake of the favour of their good company: and to prevent any ſuſpicion of the truth of my tale, I added, that if he failed in his uſual good luck, they ought to ſupply us with a leg of veniſon, or we would give them as much, if he ſucceeded.

And now all was well, at leaſt, with me; for I took time by the fore-lock, and left them to echoe the news-whoop. *Yowanne* lay nearly ſouth-eaſt from me; but to avoid my being either intercepted on the path, or heard by the quick-ear'd ſavages, I went a quarter of a mile up the large cane ſwamp, and paſſed through it on a ſouth weſt courſe, but very ſlow, as it was a dark thicket of great canes and vines, over-topped with large ſpreading trees. I ſeldom had a glimpſe of any ſtar to direct my courſe, the moon being then far ſpent. About an hour before day-light, I heard them from the top of an high hill, fire off a gun at camp; which I ſuppoſed was when they found me gone, and in order to decoy my ſuppoſed companion to anſwer them with the like report; conjecturing he would imagine it was I who fired for him, according to cuſtom in ſimilar caſes. I kept nearly at the diſtance of three miles from the path, till I arrived at the out-houſes of Yowanne. As I had never before ſeen that town, nor gone to Mobille that way, one of the warriors at my requeſt conducted me to the river, which we waded breaſt-high, and went to the paliſadoed fort of *Minggo Humma Echeto*, which ſtood commodiouſly on the bank of the river. He received and treated me very kindly; I concealed what befel me at camp, though I had reaſon to believe, he was informed of my eſcape by a runner, as I ſaw freſh tracks when I returned. I pretended to have come from camp, only to confer with him, concerning the ſituation of Mobille path, and follow his advice, either to proceed on, or return home, being convinced ſo great a chieftain as he, who lived in defiance of the Muſkohge on that remote barrier, muſt be a better judge, than any of thoſe I had met. He commended me for my caution, and aſſured me there were ſeveral companies of the Muſkohge, then out at war on the path; and that as they hated and deſpiſed the Engliſh, they would ſurely kill me, if I continued my journey. I thanked him for his friendly caution, and told him it ſhould not fall to the ground. I ſoon diſcovered his great reſentment againſt the Engliſh, on account of the impolitic and unkind treatment he had received at Mobille. He reaſoned upon it with ſtrong natural good ſenſe, and ſhewed me in his muſeum, the two red-painted ſcalps of the Muſkohge who had murdered our people, and left them in contempt hanging like mangy dogs, with a horſe's rope round each of their necks. He then ſhewed me the flouriſhing commiſſions he had received from both French and Engliſh. He deſcanted minutely on the wiſe and generous liberality of the former, on every material occaſion; and on the niggardly diſpoſition and diſcouraging conduct of the latter, when they ought to ſtretch out both their hands to thoſe red people who avenged their wrongs, and brought them the ſcalps of the very enemy who had lately ſhed their blood. The French never ſo ſtarved the public cauſe; and though they frequently gave ſparingly, they beſtowed their favours with a winning grace, and conſummate wiſdom.

This conduct of ours excited the crafty *Minggo Humma Echeto*, to give looſe to his vindictive temper; and at the ſame time, to make it coincide with the general welfare of his country. For as the Muſkohge had proved an overmatch for them in almoſt every engagement, and had lately committed hoſtilities againſt us in their neighbourhood, he perſuaded thoſe head-men I had met, when convened in a council of war, that if they with proper ſecreſy repeated the like hoſtile act on any of our people who firſt came that way, and reported it to have been done by the Muſkohge, it would certainly obtain that favourite point they had long wiſhed for, of drawing us into an alliance with them againſt the common enemy, as we muſt have ſome of the inward feelings of men for our loſt people. Probably, the decree of that red council would have been ſoon put in execution had it not been for me. When I took my leave of the red chief to return, the drum was beat to convene the people to tell them the cauſe of my coming to him, and returning home; and that as the women and children had ſeen me in the town, their late plan of execution muſt be entirely laid aſide. One of the warriors was ſent to accompany me, though rather by way of eſcortment. In my return I called at the before mentioned camp, and put up the whoop; my two former watchmen, on ſeeing me, reſembled wolves catched in a pit, they hung down their heads, and looked gloomy, and wrathful. I aſked them why they were aſhamed, and why their hearts weighed ſo heavy; they ſaid they were aſhamed for me, I was ſo great a liar, and had earneſtly told them ſo many ugly falſhoods. I ſaid, my ſpeech to them could hurt no honeſt perſons.—My head, my eyes, my heart, aſſured me their hearts were then like the ſnakes; and my tongue only ſpoke the ſpeech of honeſt wiſdom, ſo as to ſave myſelf from being bitten—That it was the property of poiſonous ſnakes, when they miſs their aim, to be enraged, and hide their heads in their hateful coil; and concluded, by telling them I went through the woods to Yowanne, to ſhew them publicly I was not hurt by lurking ſnakes—and that I would now return to the harmleſs Chikkaſah, and tell them ſo—on this we parted.

A timely application of proper meaſures with the ſavages, is our only method to ſecure their feeble affections. If thoſe, who are employed for that ſalutary purpoſe, juſtly purſued that point, its effect would ſoon be openly declared, by the friendly behaviour and honeſt conduct of the various weſtern nations. But where intereſt governs, iniquitous meaſures are purſued, and painters can be got who will flatter the original, be it ever ſo black. Some of our chiefs, with a certain military officer in Weſt-Florida, like trembling mice, humbly voted not to demand any ſatisfaction from the ſavages, for that moſt ſhocking act of cool murder I have juſt mentioned, leſt it ſhould provoke them to do us more miſchief. But to the honour of George Johnſtone, Eſq; then Governor of Weſt-Florida, as a repreſentative of the ſuffering people, he deſpiſed ſuch obſequious and puſillanimous councils, and inſiſted, in his uſual manly manner, on an equal revenge of blood, and had it ſpeedily granted, as far as the ſituation of affairs could poſſibly allow: for by a council of the red Sanhedrim, they condemned three of the chief murderers to be killed, and formally ſent down to him two of their ſcalps to ſtop the loud voice of blood: but the third made off to the Cheerake, by which means he evaded his juſtly deſerved fate—and too nice a ſcrutiny at ſuch a time would not have been convenient. All the weſtern Indian nations, bear the higheſt regard to that paternal governor, and plain friend of all the people: and I record his conduct to do juſtice to ſo uncommon a character in America, as well as to engage his ſucceſſors to purſue the ſame meaſures, and copy after him.

The Choktah, by not having deep rivers or creeks to purify themſelves by daily ablutions, are become very irreligious in other reſpects, for of late years, they make no annual atonement for ſin. As very few of them can ſwim, this is a full proof that the general opinion of the young brood of ſavages being able to ſwim like fiſh, as ſoon as they come into the world, ought to be intirely exploded. The Indian matrons have ſenſe enough to know, that the ſwimming of human creatures is an art to keep the head above water, which is gained by experience; and that their helpleſs infants are incapable of it. Probably, the report ſprung from their immerſing the new-born infants in deep running water by the way of purification.

The Choktah are the craftieſt, and moſt ready-witted, of any of the red nations I am acquainted with. It is ſurpriſing to hear the wily turns they uſe, in perſuading a perſon to grant them the favour they have in view. Other nations generally behave with modeſty and civility, without ever leſſening themſelves by aſking any mean favours. But the Choktah, at every ſeaſon, are on the begging lay. I ſeveral times told their leading men, they were greater beggars, and of a much meaner ſpirit, than the white-haired Chikkaſah women, who often were real objects of pity. I was once fully convinced that none was ſo fit to baffle them in thoſe low attempts without giving offence, as their own country-men. One, in my preſence, expatiated on his late diſappointment and loſſes, with the ſeveral unexpected cauſes, and preſſingly ſollicited his auditor as a benevolent kinſman, to aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs: but the other kept his ear deaf to his importunity, and entirely evaded the artful aim of the petitioner, by carrying on a diſcourſe he had begun, before his relation accoſted him as a ſuppliant. Each alternately began where they had left off, the one to inforce the compliance of his prayer, and the other, like the deaf adder, to elude the power of its charming him. Nature has in a very ſurpriſing manner, endued the Indian Americans, with a ſtrong comprehenſive memory, and great flow of language. I liſtened with cloſe attention to their ſpeeches, for a conſiderable time; at laſt the petitioner deſpairing of impreſſing the other with ſentiments in his favour, was forced to drop his falſe and tragical tale, and become ſeemingly, a patient hearer of the concluſion of the other's long narrative, which was given him with a great deal of outward compoſure, and cool good-nature.

In the years 1746 and 1747, I was frequently perplexed by the Choktah mendicants; which policy directed me to bear, and conceal as well as I could, becauſe I was then tranſacting public buſineſs with them. In 1747, one of their warriors and a Chokchooma came to me for preſents; which according to my uſual cuſtom in thoſe times, I gave, though much leſs than they preſumed to expect. The former, ſtrongly declaimed againſt the penurious ſpirit of the French, and then highly applauded the open generous tempers of the Engliſh traders: for a conſiderable time, he contraſted them with each other, not forgetting, in every point of compariſon, to give us the preference in a high degree. He was endued with ſo much eloquence and ſkill as to move the paſſions, and obtain his point. A conſiderable number of Chikkaſah warriors who were preſent, told me ſoon after, that his ſkilful method of addreſſing me for a bottle of ſpirituous liquors, ſeemed to them aſtoniſhing: an old beloved man replied, that the worſt ſort of ſnakes were endued with the greateſt ſkill to inſnare and ſuck their prey, whereas, the harmleſs have no ſuch power.

The Indians in general do not chuſe to drink any ſpirits, unleſs they can quite intoxicate themſelves. When in that helpleſs and ſordid condition, weeping and aſking for more *ookka hoome*, "bitter waters," I ſaw one of the drunkard's relations, who ſome time before had taken a like doſe, hold the rum-bottle to the other's head, ſaying, when he had drank deep, "Hah, you were very poor for drinking." Though I appealed to all the Chikkaſah warriors preſent, that rum never ſtood on hand with me, when the people were at home, and ſeveral times affirmed to the importunate Choktah, that it was entirely expended; yet my denial ſerved only to make him more earneſt: upon this, I told him, that though I had no *ookka hoome*, I had a full bottle of the water of *ane hoome*, "bitter ears," meaning long pepper, of which he was ignorant, as he had ſeen none of that kind. We were of opinion that his eager thirſt for liquor, as well as his ignorance of the burning quality of the pepper, and the reſemblance of the words, which ſignify things of a hot, though different nature, would induce the bacchanal to try it. He accordingly applauded my generous diſpoſition, and ſaid, "his heart had all the while told him I would not act beneath the character I bore among his country-people." The bottle was brought: I laid it on the table, and told him, as he was then ſpitting very much, (a general cuſtom with the Indians, when they are eager for any thing) "if I drank it all at one ſitting, it would cauſe me to ſpit in earneſt, as I uſed it, only when I ate, and then very moderately; but though I loved it, if his heart was very poor for it, I ſhould be ſilent, and not in the leaſt grudge him for pleaſing his mouth." He ſaid, "your heart is honeſt indeed; I thank you, for it is good to my heart, and makes it greatly to rejoice." Without any farther ceremony, he ſeized the bottle, uncorked it, and ſwallowed a large quantity of the burning liquid, till he was near ſtrangled. He gaſped for a conſiderable time, and as ſoon as he recovered his breath, he ſaid *Hah*, and ſoon after kept ſtroaking his throat with his right hand. When the violence of this burning draught was pretty well over, he began to flouriſh away, in praiſe of the ſtrength of the liquor, and bounty of the giver. He then went to his companion, and held the bottle to his mouth, according to cuſtom, till he took ſeveral hearty ſwallows. This Indian ſeemed rather more ſenſible of its fiery quality, than the other, for it ſuffocated him for a conſiderable time; but as ſoon as he recovered his breath, he tumbled about on the floor in various poſtures like a drunken perſon, overcome by the force of liquor. In this manner, each of them renewed their draught, till they had finiſhed the whole bottle, into which two others had been decanted. The Chikkaſah ſpectators were ſurpriſed at their taſteleſs and voracious appetite, and laughed heartily at them, mimicking the actions, language, and geſture of drunken ſavages. The burning liquor ſo highly inflamed their bodies, that one of the Choktah to cool his inward parts, drank water till he almoſt burſt: the other rather than bear the ridicule of the people, and the inward fire that diſtracted him, drowned himſelf the ſecond night after in a broad and ſhallow clay hole, contiguous to the dwelling houſe of his uncle, who was the Chikkaſah Archimagus.

There was an incident, ſomething ſimilar, which happened in the year 1736, in *Kanootare*, the moſt northern town of the Cheerake. When all the liquor was expended, the Indians went home, leading with them at my requeſt, thoſe who were drunk. One, however, ſoon came back, and earneſtly importuned me for more *Nawohti*, which ſignifies both phyſic and ſpirituous liquors. They, as they are now become great liars, ſuſpect all others of being infected with their own diſpoſition and principles. The more I excuſed myſelf, the more anxious he grew, ſo as to become offenſive. I then told him, I had only one quarter of a bottle of ſtrong phyſic, which ſick people might drink in ſmall quantities, for the cure of inward pains: and laying it down before him, I declared I did not on any account chooſe to part with it, but as his ſpeech of few words, had become very long and troubleſome, he might do juſt as his heart directed him concerning it. He took it up, ſaying his heart was very poor for phyſic, but that would cure it, and make it quite ſtreight. The bottle contained almoſt three gills of ſtrong ſpirits of turpentine, which in a ſhort time, he drank off. Such a quantity of the like phyſic would have demoliſhed me, or any white perſon. The Indians in general, are either capable of ſuffering exquiſite pain longer than we are, or of ſhewing more conſtancy and compoſure in their torments. The troubleſome viſitor ſoon tumbled down and foamed prodigiouſly.—I then ſent for ſome of his relations to carry him home. They came—I told them he drank greedily, and too much of the phyſic. They ſaid, it was his uſual cuſtom, when the red people bought the Engliſh phyſic. They gave him a decoction of proper herbs and roots, the next day ſweated him, repeated the former draught, and he ſoon got well. As thoſe turpentine ſpirits did not inebriate him, but only inflamed his inteſtines, he well remembered the burning quality of my favourite phyſic, which he had ſo indiſcreetly drank up, and cautioned the reſt from ever teizing me for any phyſic I had concealed, in any ſort of bottles, for my own uſe; otherwiſe they might be ſure it would ſpoil them, like the eating of fire.

The Choktah are in general more ſlender than any other nation of ſavages I have ſeen. They are raw-boned, and ſurpriſingly active in ball-playing; which is a very ſharp exerciſe, and requires great ſtrength and exertion. In this manly exerciſe, no perſons are known to be equal to them, or in running on level ground, to which they are chiefly uſed from their infancy, on account of the ſituation of their country, which hath plenty of hills, but no mountains; theſe lie at a conſiderable diſtance between them and the Muſkohge. On the ſurvey of a prodigious ſpace of fertile land up the Miſſiſippi, and its numberleſs fine branches, we found the mountains full three hundred miles from that great winding maſs of waters.

Though the lands of Weſt-Florida, for a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea-ſhore, are very low, ſour, wet, and unhealthy, yet it abounds with valuable timber for ſhip-building, which could not well be expended in the long ſpace of many centuries. This is a very material article to ſo great a maritime power, as Great Britain, eſpecially as it can be got with little expence and trouble. The French were ſaid to deal pretty much that way; and the Spaniards, it is likely, will now reſume it, as the bounty of our late miniſtry has allowed the French to transfer New-Orleans to them, and by that means they are able to diſturb the Britiſh colonies at pleaſure. It cannot fail of proving a conſtant bone of contention: a few troops could ſoon have taken it during the late war, for it was incapable of making any conſiderable reſiſtance; and even French effrontery could not have preſumed to withhold the giving it up, if the makers of our laſt memorable peace had not been ſo extremely modeſt, or liberal to them. If it be allowed that the firſt diſcoverers and poſſeſſors of a foreign waſte country, have a juſt title to it, the French by giving up New-Orleans to Great Britain, would have only ceded to her, poſſeſſions, which they had no right to keep; for Col. Wood was the firſt diſcoverer of the Miſſiſippi, who ſtands on public record, and the chief part of ten years he employed in ſearching its courſe. This ſpirited attempt he began in the year 1654, and ended 1664. Capt. Bolton made the like attempt, in the year 1670. Doctor Cox of New Jerſey ſent two ſhips Anno 1698, which diſcovered the mouth of it; and having ſailed a hundred miles up, he took poſſeſſion of the whole country, and called it Carolana: whereas the French did not diſcover it till the year 1699, when they gave it the name of Colbert's-river, in honour of their favourite miniſter, and the whole country they called Loiſinana, which may ſoon be exchanged for Philippiana—till the Americans give it another and more deſirable name.

The Choktah being employed by the French, together with their other red confederates, againſt the Engliſh Chikkaſah, they had no opportunity of inuring themſelves to the long-winded chace, among a great chain of ſteep craggy mountains. They are amazingly artful however in deceiving an enemy; they will faſten the paws and trotters of panthers, bears, and buffalos, to their feet and hands, and wind about like the circlings of ſuch animals, in the lands they uſually frequent. They alſo will mimick the different notes of wild fowl, and thus often outwit the ſavages they have diſputes with. Their enemies ſay, that when at war, it is impoſſible to diſcover their tracks, unleſs they ſhould be ſo lucky as to ſee their perſons. They act very timorouſly againſt the enemy abroad, but behave as deſperate veterans when attacked in their own country. 'Till they were ſupplied by the Engliſh traders with arms and ammunition, they had very little ſkill in killing deer; but they improve very faſt in that favourite art: no ſavages are equal to them in killing bears, panthers, wild cats, &c. that reſort in thick cane-ſwamps; which ſwamps are ſometimes two or three miles over, and an hundred in length, without any break either ſide of the ſtream.

About Chriſtmas, the he and ſhe bears always ſeparate. The former uſually ſnaps off a great many branches of trees, with which he makes the bottom of his winter's bed, and carefully raiſes it to a proper height, with the green tops of large canes; he chooſes ſuch ſolitary thickets as are impenetrable by the ſun-beams. The ſhe bear takes an old large hollow tree for her yeaning winter-houſe, and chuſes to have the door above, to enable her to ſecure her young ones from danger. When any thing diſturbs them, they gallop up a tree, champing their teeth, and briſtling their hair, in a frightful manner: and when they are wounded, it is ſurpriſing from what a height they will pitch on the ground, with their weighty bodies, and how ſoon they get up, and run off. When they take up their winter-quarters, they continue the greater part of two months, in almoſt an entire ſtate of inactivity: during that time, their tracks reach no farther than to the next water, of which they ſeldom drink, as they frequently ſuck their paws in their lonely receſs, and impoveriſh their bodies, to nouriſh them. While they are employed in that ſurpriſing taſk of nature, they cannot contain themſelves in ſilence, but are ſo well pleaſed with their repaſt, that they continue ſinging *hum um um:* as their pipes are none of the weakeſt, the Indians by this means often are led to them from a conſiderable diſtance, and then ſhoot them down. But they are forced to cut a hole near the root of the tree, wherein the ſhe bear and her cubs are lodged, and drive them out by the force of fire and ſuffocating ſmoke; and as the tree is partly rotten, and the inſide dry, it ſoon takes fire. In this caſe, they become very fierce, and would fight any kind of enemy; but, commonly, at the firſt ſhot, they are either killed or mortally wounded. However, if the hunter chance to miſs his aim, he ſpeedily makes off to a ſappling, which the bear by over-claſping cannot climb: the crafty hunting dogs then act their part, by biting behind, and gnawing its hams, till it takes up a tree. I have been often aſſured both by Indians and others, who get their bread by hunting in the woods, that the ſhe-bear always endeavours to keep apart from the male during the helpleſs ſtate of her young ones; otherwiſe he would endeavour to kill them; and that they had frequently ſeen the ſhe bear kill the male on the ſpot, after a deſperate engagement for the defence of her young ones. Of the great numbers I have ſeen with their young cubs, I never ſaw a he bear at ſuch times, to aſſociate with them: ſo that it ſeems one part of the Roman Satyriſt's fine moral leſſon, inculcating peace and friendſhip, is not juſt, *Scævis inter ſe convenit Urſis.*

At the time Mobille (that grave-yard for Britons) was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkaſah ſcalps they had taken, in their thieviſh way of warring, and had them new painted, and carrried them in proceſſion on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to ſhew their contempt of the Engliſh. They would not ſpeak a word to the Chikkaſah traders, and they ſollicited the French for their conſent to re-commence war againſt us, and eſtabliſh them again by force of arms, in their weſtern poſſeſſions; but they told them, their king had firmly concluded upon the ceſſion, through his own benevolence of heart, to prevent the further effuſion of innocent blood.—By this artful addreſs, they ſupported their credit with the ſavages, in the very point which ought to have ruined it.

When the Choktah found themſelves dipped in war with the Muſkohge; they ſollicited the Engliſh for a ſupply of ammunition, urging with much truth, that common ſenſe ought to direct us to aſſiſt them, and deem the others our enemies as much as theirs. But Tumbikpe-garriſon was evacuated through the unmanly fear of giving umbrage to the Muſkohge,

kohge, at the very time it would have been of the utmoſt ſervice to the general intereſt of our colonies to have continued it.

The commander concealed his timorous and precipitate retreat, even from me and another old trader, till the very night he confuſedly ſet off for Mobille by water, and left to us the trouble of apologizing to the ſavages for his miſconduct. But after he got to a place of ſafety, he flouriſhed away of his wiſdom and proweſs. As a juſt ſtigma on thoſe who abuſe their public truſt, I cannot help obſerving, that in imitation of ſome other rulers, he perſuaded the Indians not to pay us any of our numerous out-ſtanding debts, though contrary to what was ſpecified in our trading licences. They have not courage enough to venture their own valuable lives to thoſe red marts of trade; if they had, they would perſuade the Indians rather to pay their debts honeſtly, year by year, as we truſt them in their want, and depend on their promiſe and fidelity. The gentlemen, who formerly traded with the Muſkohge, told me that the Georgia-governor, through a like generous principle, forgave that nation once all the numerous debts they owed the traders. But as ſoon as the Indians underſtood they would not be credited again, under any circumſtances whatſoever, they conſented to pay their debts, and declared the Governor to be a great mad-man, by pretending to forgive debts contracted for valuable goods, which he never purchaſed, nor intended to pay for.

Though the French Louiſianians were few, and far diſperſed, as well as ſurrounded by the ſavages, yet cloſe application and abilities in their various appointments, ſufficiently made up their lack of numbers. When, and where, their ſecurity ſeemed to require it, they with a great deal of art fomented diviſions among their turbulent red neighbours, and endeavoured to keep the balance of power pretty even between them. Though they had only one garriſon in the country of the Muſkohge, and another in that of the Choktah, yet the commanders of thoſe two poſts, managed ſo well, that they intimidated thoſe two potent nations, by raiſing miſunderſtandings between them, and threatening (when occaſion required) to ſet the one againſt the other, with their red legions of the north, unleſs ample ſatisfaction was ſpeedily given by the offending party, and ſolemn promiſes of a ſtrict obſervance of true friendſhip for the time to come. How far our ſuperintendants, and commiſſioners of Indian affairs, have imitated that wiſe copy, our traders can feelingly deſcribe: and it will be a happineſs, if our three weſtern colonies have not the like experience, in the ſpace of a few years. We aſſure them, that either the plan, or the means, for producing ſuch an effect, has been pretty well concerted by the authors of that dangerous and fatal peace between the Muſkohge and Choktah. Their own party indeed will greatly applaud it, and ſo will the much obliged Spaniards, eſpecially if they ſoon enter into a war with Great Britain. It is to be wiſhed, that thoſe who preach peace and good-will to all the ſavage murderers of the Britiſh Americans, would do the ſame as to their American fellow-ſubjects,—and not, as ſome have lately done, cry peace to the Indians, and ſeek to plunge the mercenary ſwords of ſoldiers into the breaſts of thoſe of our loyal coloniſts, who are the moſt powerful of us, becauſe they oppoſe the meaſures of an arbitrary miniſtry, and will not be enſlaved.

In the year 1766, the Choktah received a conſiderable blow from the Muſkohge. Their old diſtinguiſhed war-leader, before ſpoken of, *Minggo Humma Echéto*, ſet off againſt the Muſkohge, with an hundred and ſixty warriors, to cut off by ſurpriſe one of their barrier towns: as the waters were low, a couple of runners brought him a meſſage from the nation, acquainting him there were two white men on their way to the Muſkohge, and therefore deſired him to ſend them back, leſt they ſhould inform them of the expedition, and by that means, endanger the lives of the whole. But though he treated theſe traders kindly at his war-camp, and did not ſhew the leaſt diffidence of them reſpecting their ſecrecy; and ſent this account back by the running meſſengers to his adviſers, that the Engliſh were his friends, and could not be reaſonably ſuſpected of betraying them, if it were only on the ſituation of their own trading buſineſs, which frequently called them to various places,—yet thoſe baſe-minded and perfidious men violated the generous faith repoſed in them, and betrayed the lives of their credulous friends. They ſet off with long marches, and as ſoon as they arrived in the country of the Muſkohge, minutely informed them of the Choktah's hoſtile intentions, and number, and the probable place of attacking the aforeſaid camp, to the beſt advantage. The news was joyfully received, and, as they had reaſon to believe they could ſurpriſe the enemy, or take them at a diſadvantage, in ſome convenient place near their own barriers, a number of choſen warriors well prepared, ſet off in order to ſave their former credit, by revenging the repeated affronts the Choktah leader had given them in every engagement. He, in the moſt inſulting manner, had often challenged their whole nation to meet him and his at any fixt time of a moon, and place, and fight it out, when the conquerors ſhould be maſters of the conquered—for the Muſkohge uſed to ridicule the Choktah, by ſaying, they were like wolf-cubs, who would not take the water, but the thick ſwamp, as their only place of ſecurity againſt the enemy. It muſt here be remembered, that the Indians in general, are guided by their dreams when they attend their holy ark to war, reckoning them ſo many oracles, or divine intimations, deſigned for their good: by virtue of thoſe ſuppoſed, ſacred dictates, they will ſometimes return home, by one, two, or three at a time, without the leaſt cenſure, and even with applauſe, for this their religious conduct. Thus, one hundred and twenty of theſe Choktah, after having intimidated themſelves apart from the reſt, with viſionary notions, left the war-camp and returned home. Our gallant friend, *Minggo Humma Echeto*, addreſſed his townſmen on this, and perſuaded them to follow him againſt the enemy, ſaying, it was the part of brave warriors to keep awake, and not dream like old women. He told them their national credit was at ſtake for their warlike conduct under him; and that honour prompted him to proceed againſt the hateful enemy, even by himſelf, though he was certain his townſmen and warlike relations would not forſake him. Forty of them proceeded, and next day they were ſurrounded by an hundred and ſixty of the Muſkohge, ſeveral of whom were on horſeback to prevent their eſcape. When the Choktah ſaw their dangerous ſituation, and that they had no alternative but a ſudden, or lingering death, they fought as became deſperate men, deprived of hope. While their arrows and ammunition laſted, they killed and wounded a conſiderable number of the oppoſite party: but the enemy obſerving their diſtreſſed ſituation, drew up into a narrow circle, and ruſhed upon the remaining and helpleſs few, with their guns, darts, clubs, and tomohawks, and killed thirty-eight. They were not able to captivate but two, whom they deſtined for the fiery torture: but at night, when the camp was aſleep in too great ſecurity, one of them fortunately made his eſcape out of a pair of wooden ſtocks. They had flattered him with the hopes of being redeemed; but he told them he was too much of a warrior to confide in their falſe promiſes. He got ſafe home, and related the whole affair.

Formerly, by virtue of the preſſing engagement of a prime magiſtrate of South-Carolina, I undertook to open a trade with the Choktah, and reconcile their old-ſtanding enmity with the Chikkaſah. I was promiſed to be indemnified in all neceſſary charges attending that attempt. As the Choktah, by the perſuaſions of the French, had killed my partner in the trade, I was deſirous of any favourable opportunity of retaliating: eſpecially, as we were expoſed to perpetual dangers and loſſes, by the French rewards offered either for our ſcalps or horſes-tails; and as the French were uſually ſhort of goods, while Great Britain was at war with them, we were liable to moſt damages from them in time of peace. They uſed to keep an alphabetical liſt of all the names of leading ſavages, in the various nations where they ingarriſoned themſelves; and they duly paid them, every year, a certain quantity of goods beſides, for all the damages they did to the Chikkaſah, and our traders; which tempted them conſtantly to exert their abilities, to the good liking of their political employers. It happened, however, that one of the French of Tumbikpe-fort, being guided by Venus inſtead of Apollo, was detected in violating the law of marriage with the favourite wife of the warlike chieftain of Quanſheto, *Shulaſhummaſhtabe*, who by his ſeveral tranſcendant qualities, had arrived to the higheſt pitch of the red glory. He was well known in Georgia and South-Carolina, by the name of Red Shoes; as formerly noticed. As there lived in his town, a number of the Chokchoomah, the ſenior tribe of the Chikkaſah and Choktah, and who had a free intercourſe with each of their countries, we ſoon had an account of every material thing that paſſed there. I therefore reſolved to improve ſo favourable an opportunity as ſeemed to preſent itſelf, and accordingly ſoon privately convened two of the leading men of the Chikkaſah nation, to aſſiſt me to execute the plan I had in view. One was the Archimagus, *Paſtabe*, known in our colonies, by the name of "the Jockey,"—and the other, by that of *Pahemingo-Amalahta*, who was the only Indian I ever knew to die of a conſumption; which he contracted by various engagements with the enemy when far off at war, contrary to their general rule of martial purification. The violent exerciſe of running a great diſtance under the violent rays of the ſun, and over ſandy, or hilly grounds, would not allow him to inſwamp, and he fired his blood to ſuch a degree, that a few years after this, when on a viſit to our Engliſh ſettlements, he died at Auguſta with this ailment. It is needful to mention thoſe well-known circumſtances, as the following relation of facts, depends in a conſiderable meaſure on them.

We three agreed to ſend ſome preſents to *Red Shoes*, with a formal ſpeech, deſiring him to accept them with a kind heart, and ſhake hands with us as became brothers, according to the old beloved ſpeech. Their own friendly meſſages, and treaties of peace, are always accompanied with ſo many ſorts of preſents, as their chiefs number. We in a few days packed up a ſufficient quantity, to bury the tomohawk which the French had thruſt into their unwilling hands, and to dry up the tears of the injured, and ſet their hearts at eaſe, for the time to come, by joining with the Engliſh and their old friendly Chikkaſah, *Inggona Sekanoopa toochenaſe*, "in the triple knot of friendſhip," in order to cut off the dangerous ſnake's head, and utterly deſtroy the power of its forked tongue. As our real grievances were mutually the ſame, and numerous, we gave liberally. Having every thing as well concerted for the embaſſy, as ſuch occaſions require, my two red friends ſent a truſty meſſenger for a couple of the foreſaid neutral Indians, who had been a few days in the Chikkaſah country, to accompany him late at night to my trading houſe. They readily obeyed; and, as the good-natured men and their families, through friendſhip to us, muſt infallibly have been ſacrificed to French policy, if we failed of ſucceſs, or they were diſcovered by captives, or any other means, we uſed the greateſt ſecreſy, and placed a centinel to keep off all other perſons during our private congreſs. After we had converſed with them a conſiderable time, on the neceſſity of the propoſed attempt, and the certainty of ſucceeding in it, we opened our two large budgets, and read over the ſtrong emblematical contents, according to their idiom, till we gave them a true impreſſion of the whole. The next day we took care to ſend them off well pleaſed: and as ſeveral material circumſtances conſpired to aſſure us they would faithfully diſcharge the office of truſt, which we repoſed in them, we in a ſhort time had the ſatisfaction to hear by other private runners of their countrymen, from our brave and generous patron, Red Shoes, that they were ſo far from breaking the public faith, that they read to him every material head of our embaſſy, and urged it with all their powers.

That red chieftain introduced our friendly embaſſy, with ſuch ſecreſy and addreſs to all the head-men he could confide in, that he ſoon perſuaded moſt of them in all the neighbouring towns, to join heartily with him in his laudable plan. The ſharpneſs of his own feelings for the baſe injury he had received from the French, and the well-adapted preſents we ſent him and his wife and gallant aſſociates, contributed greatly to give a proper weight to our embaſſy. Such motives as theſe are too often the main-ſprings that move the various wheels of government, even in the chriſtian world. In about a month from the time we began to treat with Red-Shoes, he ſent a conſiderable body of his warriors, with preſents to me, as the repreſentative of the Engliſh traders, and to my Chikkaſah friends, conſiſting of ſwans-wings, white beads, pipes and tobacco; which was a ſtrong confirmation of our treaty of peace,—and he earneſtly requeſted of me to inform them with that candour, which ſhould always be obſerved by honeſt friends, whether I could firmly engage that our traders would live, and deal among them, as we did with the Chikkaſah; for a diſappointment that way, he ſaid, would prove fatal, ſhould we entangle them with the French, in reſentment of the many injuries they had long unprovokedly done us. I quieted their apprehenſions on that material point of jealouſy, to their entire ſatisfaction, and my two Chikkaſah friends ſoon expatiated upon the ſubject to him, with a great deal of that life, wit and humour, ſo peculiar to the red Americans. We explained and confirmed anew, the whole contents of our former talk concerning the dangerous French ſnake; aſſuring them, that if they did not ſoon exert themſelves againſt it, as became brave free-men, they would ſtill continue not only poor, and ſhamefully naked, below the ſtate of other human beings, but be deſpiſed, and abuſed, in proportion to their mean paſſive conduct,—their greateſt and moſt favourite war-chieftains not excepted, as they ſaw verified in their chief leader, *Shoolaſhummaſhtabe*. But if they exerted themſelves, they would be as happy as our friendly, brave, and free Chikkaſah, whom the French armies, and all their red confederates, could no way damage but as hidden ſnakes, on account of their own valour, and the ſteady friendſhip of the Engliſh,—who were always faithful to their friends even to death, as every river and creek ſufficiently teſtified, all the way from the Engliſh ſettlements to the Chikkaſah country. We mentioned how many were killed at ſeveral places, as they were going in a warlike manner to ſupply their beloved friends, without any being ever captivated by the numerous enemy, though often attacked at a diſadvantage—which ought to aſſure them, that whenever the Engliſh ſhaked hands with people, their hearts were always honeſt. We requeſted them therefore to think, and act, as our brotherly Chikkaſah, who by ſtrongly holding the chain of friendſhip between them and the Engliſh, were able in their open fields, to deſtroy the French armies, and in the woods bravely to fight, and baffle all the efforts of their deſpicable mercenary enemies, though their numbers of fighting men conſiſted of few more than one hundred to what the Choktah contained in old hundreds, or thouſands. The French, we added, were liberal indeed; but to whom, or for what? They gave preſents to the head-men, and the moſt eloquent ſpeakers of their country, to inſlave the reſt, but would not ſupply them with arms and ammunition, without the price of blood againſt our traders and the friendly Chikkaſah; that they themſelves were witneſſes, a whole town of ſprightly promiſing young men had not now more than five or ſix guns; but they would learn to kill as many deer as the diſtinguiſhed Chikkaſah hunters, if they firmly ſhook hands with the Engliſh. We convinced them, that the true emblem of the Engliſh was a dreſt white deer-ſkin, but that the French dealt with them only in long ſcalping knives; that we had a tender feeling, when we heard the mourning voice of the tender-hearted widow, and only ſupplied our friends in their own defence, or in revenge of crying blood; but that the French delighted in blood, and were always plotting how to deſtroy them, and take away their lands, by ſetting them at war againſt thoſe who loved them, and would ſecure their liberties, without any other view than as became brothers, who fairly exchanged their goods. We deſired them to view the Chikkaſah ſtriplings, how readily their kindly hearts led them to liſten to the friendly ſpeech of their Engliſh trading ſpeaker, becauſe they knew we loved them, and enabled them to appear in the genteel dreſs of red people.

At the whoop, they ſoon appeared, and cheerfully complied with our various requeſts, to the great ſatisfaction of our new Choktah friends. The Chikkaſah head-men told them with pleaſure, that they were glad their own honeſt eyes had ſeen the pure effects of love to their Engliſh trader; and that their old people, time out of mind, had taught them ſo. Then they humourouſly enlarged on the unfriendly conduct of the French in a comparative manner, and perſuaded them to keep their eyes open, and remember

member well what they had ſeen and heard, and to tell it to all their head-men.

We adjuſted every thing in the moſt friendly manner, to the intire ſatiſfaction of the Choktah. I ſupplied each of them with arms, ammunition, and preſents in plenty — gave them a French ſcalping knife which had been uſed againſt us, and even vermilion, to be uſed in the flouriſhing way, with the dangerous French ſnakes, when they killed and ſcalped them. They returned home extremely well pleaſed, echoed every thing they had ſeen and heard; and declared that the Chikkaſah, in their daily dreſs, far exceeded the beſt appearance their country-men could make in the moſt ſhowy manner, except thoſe whom the French paid to make their lying mouths ſtrong. They ſoon went to work—they killed the ſtrolling French pedlars, —turned out againſt the Miſſiſippi Indians and Mobillians, and the flame ſpeedily raged very high. One of the Choktah women, ran privately to inform a French pedlar of the great danger he was in, and urged him immediately to make his eſcape. He ſoon ſaddled a fine ſtrong ſprightly horſe he chanced to have at hand: juſt as he mounted, the dreadful death whoo whoop was ſounded in purſuit of him, with the ſwift-footed red Aſahel, *Shoolaſhummaſhtabe*, leading the chace. Though, from that place, the land-path was moſtly level to Tumpikbe-garriſon (about half a day's march) and though the Chikkaſah and Choktah horſes are Spaniſh barbs, and long winded, like wolves; yet Red-Shoes, far ahead of the reſt, ran him down in about the ſpace of fifteen miles, and had ſcalped the unfortunate rider ſome time before the reſt appeared.

It is ſurpriſing to ſee the long continued ſpeed of the Indians in general— though ſome of us have often ran the ſwifteſt of them out of ſight, when on the chaſe in a collective body, for about the diſtance of twelve miles; yet, afterward, without any ſeeming toil, they would ſtretch on, leave us out of ſight, and out-wind any horſe. When this retaliating ſcheme was planned and executing, I was the only Britiſh ſubject in the Chikkaſah country; and as I had many goods on hand, I ſtaid in the nation, while we ſent down our horſes to the firſt Engliſh ſettlements,—which was full eight hundred miles diſtant, before the two Floridas were ceded to us. Seventeen were the broken days, according to the Indian phraſe, when the Choktah engaged to return with the French ſcalps, as a full confirmation of their having declared war againſt them, and of their ardent deſire of always ſhaking hands with the Engliſh. The power of the French red mercenaries was however ſo very great, that Red Shoes could not with ſafety comply with his deputy's promiſe to me, to ſend the French ſnake's head, in the time appointed by our ſticks hieroglyphically painted, and notched in due form. The fall time drawing on, obliged me to ſet off for the Kooſah-town, which is the moſt weſtern of the Muſkohge nation, about three hundred miles diſtant. I was accompanied by my two cheerful and gallant Chikkaſah friends, already mentioned, with forty of their choſen warriors, brave as ever trod the ground, and faithful under the greateſt dangers even to the death. On our way down, eſcorting the returning cargo, four Chikkaſah, who were paſſing home through the woods, having diſcovered us, and obſerving in the evening a large camp of 80 French Choktah in purſuit of us; they returned on our tracks at full ſpeed, to put us on our guard: but though we were ſo few, and had many women and children to protect, beſides other incumbrances, yet as the enemy knew by our method of camping, and marching, we had diſcovered them, they durſt not attack us.

Another time there was a hunting camp of only ſeventeen Chikkaſah, with their wives and children, who were attacked by above ſixty Choktah; but they fought them a long time, and ſo deſperately, that they killed and wounded ſeveral, and drove them ſhamefully off, without any loſs. It is uſual for the women to ſing the enlivening war ſong in the time of an attack; and it inflames the men's ſpirits ſo highly, that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an inſtance of the Indians running off, though from a numerous enemy, and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.

Soon after we arrived at the upper weſtern town of the Muſkohge, which was called *Ooe-Aſah*, and ſettled by the Chikkaſah and Nahchee, a great company of Red Shoes warriors came up with me, with the French ſcalps, and other trophies of war: but becauſe a body of our Muſkohge mercenary traders found their account in dealing with the French at the Alebahma-fort, they to the great riſk of their own country's welfare, lodged ſo many caveats in my way by the mediation of the Muſkohge, that I found it neceſſary to conſent that the ſcalps ſhould be ſent with the other trophies, in a Muſkohge white deer-ſkin, to the French fort at the diſtance of ſeventy miles, to be buried deep in the ground, inſtead of ſending them by the Choktah runners, to his excellency the governor of South-Carolina, who had engaged me to ſtrive to open a trade with thoſe Indians. Theſe opulent and mercenary white ſavages being now dead, I ſhall not diſgrace the page with their worthleſs names. Soon after we had reached the Chikkaſah country, Red Shoes came to pay us a friendly viſit, accompanied with a great many head-men and warriors, both to be relieved in their poverty, and to concert the beſt meaſures of ſtill annoying the common enemy. We behaved kindly and free to them, to their entire ſatisfaction, and ſent conſiderable preſents to many head-men who ſtaid at home, in confirmation of our ſtrong friendſhip; acquainting them of our various plans of operation againſt the enemy, in defence of their lives, freedom, and liberty of trade, in which the Engliſh and Chikkaſah would faithfully ſupport them. Every thing was delivered to them according to our intention, and as kindly received. And as all the Indians are fond of well-timed novelty, eſpecially when they expect to be gainers by it, the name of the friendly and generous Engliſh was now echoed, from town to town, except in thoſe few which had large penſions from the French.

In the beginning of the following ſpring, which was 1747, above fifty warriors from ſeveral towns of the Muſkohge, came to the Chikkaſah country, on their way to war againſt the Aquahpah Indians, on the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſippi, one hundred and fifty miles above the Nahchee old fields. By our good treatment of them, and well-timed application, they joined a body of Chikkaſah warriors under *Payah Matahah*, and made a fleet of large cypreſs-bark-canoes, in which they embarked under the direction of three red admirals, in long pettiaugers that had been taken from the French, as they were paſſing from New Orleans up to the Illinois. They proceeded down the Miſſiſippi to the French ſettlements, and attacked and burned a large village at break of day, though under the command of a ſtockade-fort; from which the Chikkaſah leader was wounded with a grape-ſhot in his ſide. On this, as they deſpaired of his life, according to their univerſal method in ſuch a caſe, they killed moſt of their unfortunate captives on the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſippi; and enraged with

fury,

fury, they overſpread the French ſettlements, to a great diſtance, like a dreadful whirlwind, deſtroying every thing before them, to the aſtoniſhment and terror even of thoſe who were far remote from the ſkirts of the direful ſtorm. The French Louiſianians were now in a deſponding ſtate, as we had beaten them in their own favourite political element, in which they had too often been ſuccesſful even at the Britiſh court, after our troops and navies had ſcoured them out of the field and the ocean. They had no reaſon here to expect any favour of us, as we were only retaliating the long train of innocent blood of our fellow-ſubjects they had wantonly cauſed to be ſhed by their red mercenaries, and their fears now became as great as their danger—but they were needleſs; for though the Alebahma French, and many towns of the Muſkohge, were in a violent ferment, when the foreſaid warriors returned home, yet by the treacherous mediation of the abovementioned traders and their baſe aſſociates, the breach was made up. Had they been bleſt with the leaſt ſpark of that love for the good of their country, which the ſavages and French are, they could have then perſuaded the Indians, to have driven the French from the dangerous Alebahma; and an alliance with the Chikkaſah and Choktah would have effectually deſtroyed the dangerous line of circumvallation they afterwards drew around our valuable colonies. And as the Cheerake, by their ſituation, might eaſily have been induced to join in the formidable treaty, they with encouragement, would have proved far ſuperior to all the northern red legions the French were connected with.

At that time I ſent to the Governor of South Carolina, a large packet, relating the true ſituation of our Indian affairs, directed on his majeſty's ſervice: but though it contained many things of importance, (which the French, under ſuch circumſtances, would have faithfully improved) and required immediate diſpatch; our Muſkohge traders, to whoſe care I had ſent it by ſome Chikkaſah runners, were ſo daringly baſe as to open it, and deſtroy what their ſelf-intereſted views ſeemed to require, and delayed the conveyance of the reſt a conſiderable time, to prevent others from reaping the benefit of the trade before them. When I went down, I complained of their miſconduct, and the Governor having promiſed me a public ſeal, threatened them loudly; but ſome after circumſtances in trade made him to think it not worth while to put his threats in execution. When the French were deſtitute of goods at Tumbikpe-garriſon, while they were at war with the Engliſh, their policy allowed them to ſuffer ſeveral of our traders to deal with the Choktah, without any interruption, in order to keep them quiet; but as ſoon as they had a proper ſupply, they excited their treacherous friends to plunder, and kill our people. They, who had the fortune to get ſafe away, made great returns; which induced ſome to entertain too high notions of their profits, and ſo ſtrangers hazarded too much at once. While the French had poſſeſſion of Tumbikpe, we, who knew them, uſed to ſend there only ſmall cargoes from the Chikkaſah country, to avoid tempting them too far: but one of our great men was reported to have perſuaded a couple of gentlemen to join in company with his brother, (well known by the name of the Sphynx company) in the Choktah trade, and to have ſupplied them very largely. They loaded, and ſent off 360 valuable horſes, which with all other concomitant charges, in going to ſuch a far-diſtant country, ſwelled it to a high amount. The traders, who were employed to vend the valuable cargo, gave large preſents to ſix of the Muſkohge leaders, known to be moſt attached to the Britiſh intereſt, to eſcort them, with a body of the Choktah, into the country. They paſſed by Alebahma, in the uſual parade of the Indian-traders, to the terror of the people in the fort. They proceeded as far as a powerful body of our Choktah friends had appointed to meet them, but conſiderably overſtaid the fixed time there, in want of proviſions, as their common ſafety would not allow them to go a hunting: by the forcible perſuaſion of the Muſkohge head-men, they unluckily returned about one hundred and forty miles back on a north-eaſt-courſe. But a few days after, a party of Choktah friends came to their late camp, in order to encourage them to come on without the leaſt dread, as a numerous party were watching an opportunity to attack the French, and their own ſlaviſh countrymen; and that they would ſurely engage them very ſucceſsfully, while the traders were fording Mobille-river, eight miles above Tumbikpe-fort, under a powerful eſcortment of their faithful friends. So wiſely had they laid their plan, though it was diſconcerted by the cautious conduct of the Muſkohge head-men: for they are all ſo wary and jealous, that when they ſend any of their people on a diſtant errand, they fix the exact time they are to return home; and if they exceed but one day, they on the ſecond ſend out a party on diſcovery *.

Our

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* I ſhall here mention an inſtance of that kind: at this time, a hunting camp of the Chikkaſah went out to the extent of their winter-limits between the Choktah and Muſkohge countries:

Our Choktah traders having been thus induced to return to the Muſkohge country, proceeded ſoon afterwards ſeventy miles on almoſt a northern courſe, and from thence to the Chikkaſah about weſt by north—300 miles of very mountainous land, till within forty miles of that extenſive and fertile country—afterward, on a ſouthern direction to the Choktah, 160 miles. This was a very oblique courſe, ſomewhat reſembling the letter G reverted, its tail from Charles-town, conſiſting of 720 miles, and the head of 530, in all 1250 miles—a great diſtance to travel through woods, with loaded horſes, where they ſhifted as they could, when the day's march was over; and through the varying ſeaſons of the year. Theſe traders were charged with great neglect, in being ſo long

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countries: but being deſirous of enlarging their hunt, they ſent off a ſprightly young warrior to diſcover certain lands they were unacquainted with, which they pointed to by the courſe of the ſun, lying at the diſtance of about thirty miles. Near that place, he came up with a camp of Choktah, who ſeemed to treat him kindly, giving him veniſon and parched corn to eat: but while he was eating what ſome of the women had laid before him, one of the Choktah creeped behind him, and ſunk his tomohawk into his head. His aſſociates helped him to carry away the victim, and they hid it in a hollow tree, at a conſiderable diſtance from their camp; after which they ſpeedily removed. When the time for his return was elapſed, the Chikkaſah, next day, made a place of ſecurity for their women and children, under the protection of a few warriors; and the morning following, painted themſelves red and black, and went in queſt of their kinſman. Though they were ſtrangers to the place, any farther than by their indications to him before he ſet off, yet ſo ſwift and ſkilful woods-men were they, that at twelve o'clock that day, they came to the Choktah camping place, where, after a narrow ſearch, they diſcovered the trace of blood on a fallen tree, and a few drops of freſh blood on the leaves of trees, in the courſe they had dragged the corpſe; theſe directed them to the wooden urn, wherein the remains of their kinſman were incloſed. They ſaid, as they were men and warriors, it belonged to the female relations to weep for the dead, and to them to revenge it. They ſoon concluded to carry off the corpſe, to the oppoſite ſide of a neighbouring-ſwamp, and then to purſue. Having depoſited the body out of the reach of beaſts of prey, they ſet off in purſuit of the Choktah: they came up with them before day-light, ſurrounded their camp, attacked them, killed one, and wounded ſeveral, whooping aloud, "that they were Chikkaſah, who never firſt looſed the friend-knot between them and others, nor failed in revenging blood; but ye are roguiſh Choktah; you know you are likewiſe cowards; and that you are worſe than wolves, for they kill, only that they may eat, but you give your friends ſomething to eat, that you may kill them with ſafety." They told them, as they had left their gallant relation unſcalped in a tree, they left their cowardly one in like manner, along-ſide of another tree. They put up the death whoo whoop, returned, ſcaffolded their dead kinſman, and joined their own camp without any interruption. The reader will be able to form a proper judgment of the temper and abilities of the Indian ſavages, from theſe facts.

before they reached the Choktah country; this was to invalidate the pretenſions of two other gentlemen, towards obtaining bills of exchange on the government, according to the ſtrong promiſes they had, for any loſſes they might ſuſtain in their Choktah-cargo of goods, &c. Notwithſtanding the former were utter ſtrangers to the Chikkaſah and Choktah, and in juſtice could only expect the common privilege of Britiſh ſubjects, yet his Excellency beſtowed on them a large piece of written ſheep-ſkin, bearing the impreſſion of the threatening lion and unicorn, to frighten every other trader from dealing with the Choktah, at their peril. The Chikkaſah traders were much terrified at the unuſual ſight of the enlivened pictures of ſuch voracious animals. My ſituation cauſed me then to be ſilent, on that ſtrange point; but when the chief of them, who carried thoſe bees-wax-pictures, came to my trading houſe, chiefly to inlarge on the dreadful power of thoſe fierce creatures,—I told him, as they anſwered the deſign, in making ſo many trembling believers, among the Indians, I did not imagine him ſo weak as to attempt to impoſe his ſcare-crows upon me; but that, as his Excellency had dipped me too deep in a dangerous and very expenſive affair, and had done me the honour to ſend for me to Charles-town on his majeſty's ſervice, at the very time I could have ſecured them in the eſteem of the fickle Choktah, I ſhould not by any means oppoſe their aim of graſping the whole Choktah trade, be their plan ever ſo unwiſe and unfair. The letter the gentleman delivered to me was dated April 22, Anno 1747, in which his excellency acknowleged, in very obliging terms, that I had been very ſerviceable to the government, by my management among the Choktah, and might be aſſured of his countenance and friendſhip. As the reſt of it concerned myſelf in other matters, and contained ſome things of the meaſures of government relating to the point in view, it may be right not to publiſh it: but it is among the public records in Charles-town, and may be ſeen in the ſecretary's office. The traders, after this interview, ſet off for the Choktah; and I in a few days to South Carolina.

Soon after I arrived at Charles-town, I could not but highly reſent the governor's ungenerous treatment of, and injuſtice to me, in ſending for me to the neglect of my trade, only to carry on his unparalleled favourite ſcheme,—and I ſoon ſet off for the Chikkaſah, without taking the leaſt formal leave of his Excellency. By ſome means, he ſoon knew of my departure, and perſuaded G. G——n, Eſq; (one of the two friends in South-Carolina, who only could influence me againſt my own liking) to follow till he overtook me, and urge me to return, and accompany me to his Excellency's houſe. At his earneſt ſollicitations, the gentleman complied, came up with me, and prevailed on me to go back according to requeſt. I had plenty of courtly excuſes for my complaints and grievances, and in the hearing of my friend was earneſtly preſſed to forget and forgive all that was paſt; with ſolemn promiſes of full redreſs, according to his former engagement of drawing bills of exchange in my favour, on the government, if South-Carolina had not honour enough to repay me what I had expended in opening a trade with the numerous Choktah—beſides gratuities for hardſhips, hazards, &c.

I wiſh I could here alſo celebrate his ſincerity and faithfulneſs on this occaſion—As I could not well ſuſpect a breach of public faith, after it had been pledged in ſo ſolemn a manner, he had not much difficulty in detaining me on ſundry pretexts, till the expected great Choktah crop of deer-ſkins and beaver muſt have been gathered, before I could poſſibly return to the Chikkaſah country, and from thence proceed to rival the Sphynx-company. Under thoſe circumſtances, I was detained ſo late in November, that the ſnow fell upon me at Ediſto, the firſt day, in company with Captain W——d, an old trader of the Okwhuſke, who was going to Savanah. In the ſeverity of winter, froſt, ſnow, hail, and heavy rains ſucceed each other, in theſe climes, ſo that I partly rode, and partly ſwam to the Chikkaſah country; for not expecting to ſtay long below, I took no leathern canoe. Many of the broad deep creeks, that were almoſt dry when I went down, had now far overflowed their banks, ran at a rapid rate, and were unpaſſable to any but deſperate people: when I got within forty miles of the Chikkaſah, the rivers and ſwamps were dreadful, by rafts of timber driving down the former, and the great fallen trees floating in the latter, for near a mile in length. Being forced to wade deep through cane-ſwamps or woody thickets, it proved very troubleſome to keep my fire arms dry, on which, as a ſecond means, my life depended; for, by the high rewards of the French, ſome enemies were always rambling about in ſearch of us. On the eaſtern ſide of one of the rivers, in taking a ſweep early in a wet morning, in queſt of my horſes, I diſcovered ſmoke on a ſmall piece of riſing ground in a ſwamp, pretty near the edge; I moved nearer from tree to tree, till I diſcovered them to be Choktah creeping over the fire. I withdrew without being diſcovered, or the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, as at the worſt, I could have immediately inſwamped, ſecured a retreat with my truſty fire-arms, and taken through the river and the broad ſwamp, which then reſembled a mixt ocean of wood and water. I ſoon obſerved the tracks of my horſes, found them, and ſet off. At the diſtance of an hundred yards from the river, there was a large and deep lagoon, in the form of a ſemi-circle. As ſoon as I ſwam this, and got on the bank, I drank a good draught of rum :—in the middle of the river, I was forced to throw away one of my belt-piſtols, and a long French ſcalping knife I had found, where the Choktah killed two of our traders. When I got on the oppoſite ſhore, I renewed my draught, put my fire-arms in order, and ſet up the war-whoop. I had often the like ſcenes, till I got to the Chikkaſah country, which was alſo all afloat. The people had been ſaying, a little before I got home, that ſhould I chance to be on the path, it would be near fifty days before I could paſs the neighbouring deep ſwamps; for, on account of the levelneſs of the land, the waters contiguous to the Chikkaſah, are uſually in winter ſo long in emptying, before the ſwamps become paſſable. As I had the misfortune to loſe my tomohawk, and wet all the punk in my ſhot-pouch by ſwimming the waters, I could not ſtrike fire for the ſpace of three days, and it rained extremely hard, during that time. By being thoroughly wet ſo long, in the cold month of December, and nipped with the froſt, ſeven months elapſed before I had the proper uſe of the fingers of my right-hand. On that long and dangerous war-path, I was expoſed to many dangers, and yet ſo extricated myſelf, that it would appear like Quixotiſm to enumerate them.

I often repented of truſting to the governor's promiſes, and ſo have many others. The Cheerake, *Attah Kullah Kullah*, whoſe name is the ſuperlative of a ſkilful cutter of wood, called by us, " The Little Carpenter," had equal honour with me of receiving from his Excellency a conſiderable number of letters, which he ſaid were not agreeable to the old beloved ſpeech. He kept them regularly piled in a bundle, according to the time he received them, and often ſhewed them to the traders, in order to expoſe their fine promiſing contents. The firſt, he uſed to ſay, contained a little truth, and he excuſed the failure of the greater part of it, as he imagined much buſineſs might have perplexed him, ſo as to occaſion him to forget complying with his ſtrong promiſe. "But count, ſaid he, the lying black marks of this one:" and he deſcanted minutely on every circumſtance of it. His patience being exhauſted, he added, "they were an heap of black broad papers, and ought to be burnt in the old years fire."

Near the Muſkohge country, on my way to the Chikkaſah, I met my old friends, *Pa Yah-Matahah*, the Chikkaſah head war-chieftain, and *Ming-go-Puſhkooſh*, the great Red-Shoes' brother, journeying to Charles-town, with one of the beaus of the Sphynx-company, to relate the loſs of the moſt part of that great cargo they ſo unwiſely carried at once, and to ſolicit for a further ſupply. Thoſe traders, one excepted, were very indiſcreet, proud and ſtubborn. They ſtrove who could out-dreſs, or moſt vilify the other even before the Indians, who were ſurpriſed, as they never heard the French to degrade one another. The haughty plan they laid, againſt the repeated perſuaſions of the other, was the cauſe of all their loſſes—they firſt loſt the affection of the free, and equally proud Choktah; for they fixed as an invariable rule, to keep them at a proper diſtance, as they termed it; whereas I, according to the frequent, ſharp, upbraiding language of the familiar ſavages to them, ſat and ſmoked with the head-men on bear-ſkins, ſet the young people to their various diverſions, and then viewed them with pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding the bad treatment I had received; as I was apprehenſive of the difficulties they would neceſſarily be expoſed to, on account of their ignorance and haughtineſs, I wrote to them, by a few Chikkaſah warriors, truly informing them of the temper of the Indians, and the difficulties they would probably be expoſed to, from the policy of the French at Tumbikpe; and that though I had purpoſed to ſet off for South-Carolina, I would poſtpone going ſo ſoon, if they were of my opinion, that Mr. J. C—l (who joined with me in the letter) and I could be of any ſervice to their mercantile affairs. They received our well-intended epiſtle, and were ſo polite as to order their black interpretreſs to bid our red couriers tell us, they thanked us for our friendly offer, but did not ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance. They walked according to the weak crooked rule they had received below, and fared accordingly: for the diſobliged ſavages took moſt part of the tempting cargo. At this time, the French had only two towns and a half in their intereſt, and they were ſo wavering, that they could not rely on their friendſhip, much leſs on their ability of reſiſting the combined power of the reſt of the nation; and they were on the very point of removing that uſeful and commanding garriſon Tumbikpe, and ſettling one on another eaſtern-branch of the river, called Potagahatche, in order to decoy many of the Choktah to ſettle there by degrees, and intercept the Engliſh traders, on their way up from our ſettlements. This was as wiſe a plan as could poſſibly have been concerted, under the difficult circumſtances they laboured at that time. But the unjuſt and unwiſe meaſures of the governor of South-Carolina, in ſending his favourite traders with a ſcare-crow of bees-wax, to keep off others who were more intelligent, gave the deſponding French a favourable opportunity to exert their powers, and regain the loſt affections of a conſiderable number of our red allies; for none of our traders had now any goods in the Choktah country, nor were likely ſoon to carry any there.

Mr. C——l, the trader I juſt mentioned, was of a long ſtanding among the Chikkaſah, and indefatigable in ſerving his country, without regarding thoſe dangers that would chill the blood of a great many others; and he was perfect maſter of the Indian language. About a year after this period, he went to Red Shoes' town, and in a ſummer's night, when he was chatting with our great Engliſh friend along-ſide of his Chikkaſah wife, a party of the corrupt ſavages, that had been ſent by the French, ſhot him through the ſhoulder, and her dead on the ſpot. Red Shoes afterwards fared the ſame fate, by one of his own country-men, for the ſake of a French reward, while he was eſcorting the foreſaid gallant trader, and others, from the Chikkaſah to his own country. He had the misfortune to be taken very ſick on the path, and to lye apart from the camp, according to their uſual cuſtom: a Judas, tempted by the high reward of the French for killing him, officiouſly pretended to take great care of him. While Red Shoes kept his face toward him, the barbarian had ſuch feelings of awe and pity, that he had not power to perpetrate his wicked deſign; but when he turned his back, then he gave the fatal ſhot. In a moment the wretch ran off, and though the whole camp were out in an inſtant, to a conſiderable breadth, he evaded their purſuit, by darting himſelf like a ſnake, into a deep crevice of the earth. The old trader, who was ſhot through the ſhoulder, going two years after the death of this our brave red friend, unfortunately a quarter of a mile into the woods, from the ſpacious clearing of the Chikkaſah country, while all the men were on their winter hunt, and having only a tomohawk in his hand, the cowardly French Indians attacked him by ſurpriſe, ſhot him dead, and carried his ſcalp to Tumbikpe-fort: another white man unarmed, but out of the circle they had ſuddenly formed, ran for his fire-arms; but he and the traders came too late to overtake the blood-hounds. In this manner, fell thoſe two valuable brave men, by hands that would have trembled to attack them on an equality.

The French having drawn off ſome towns from the national confederacy, and corrupted them, they began to ſhew themſelves in their proper colours, and publicly offered rewards for our ſcalps. Of this I was ſoon informed by two Choktah runners, and in a few days time, I ſent them back well pleaſed. I deſired them to inform their head-men, that about the time thoſe days I had marked down to them, were elapſed, I would be in their towns with a cargo, and diſpoſe of it in the way of the French, as they were ſo earneſt in ſtealing the Engliſh people. I charged them with a long relation of every thing I thought might be conducive to the main point in view; which was, the continuance of a fair open trade with a free people, who by treaty were become *allies* of Great Britain; not *ſubjects*, as our public records often wrongly term them—but people of one fire. As only merit in war-exploits, and flowing language and oratory, gives any of them the leaſt preference above the reſt, they can form no other idea of kings and ſubjects than that of tyrants domineering over baſe ſlaves: of courſe, their various dialects have no names for ſuch.

I left the Chikkaſah, and arrived in the Choktah country before the expiration of the broken days, or time we had appointed, with a conſiderable cargo. By the intended monopoly of our great beloved man, in frightening the Chikkaſah traders, there were no Engliſh goods in the nation, when I went: and the neceſſity of the times requiring a liberal diſtribution, according to my former meſſage, that alone muſt have fallen heavy upon me under the public faith, without any additional expences. A day before I got there, *Minggo Puſhkooſh*, the half-brother of Red Shoes, was returned home from Charles-town, and by him I had the honour of receiving a friendly and polite letter from the governor. His main aim, at this ſickened time of Indian trade, was to recover the value of the goods that had been loſt in the Choktah country. He recommended one of the traders of the Sphynx-company to my patronage, preſſing me to aſſiſt him as far as I poſſibly could, and likewiſe to endeavour to ſtorm Tumbikpe-fort, promiſing at the ſame time, to become anſwerable to me for all my reaſonable charges in that affair. I complied with every tittle of the gentleman's requeſt, as far as I could, without charging him for it in the leaſt. As I had then, the greateſt part of my cargo on hand, I lent the other what he ſtood in need of, that he might regain what his former pride and folly had occaſioned to be loſt. At that time, powder and ball were ſo very ſcarce, that I could have ſold to the Choktah, as much as would have produced fifteen hundred buck-ſkins, yet the exigency was ſo preſſing, I gave them the chief part of my ammunition, though as ſparingly as I could—for the French by our purſuit of wrong meaſures, (already mentioned) and their own policy, had dipped them into a civil war. As I had then no call to ſacrifice my private intereſt for the emolument of the public, without indemnity, ſo I was not willing to ſuſpect another breach of public faith. Red Shoes' brother came up freighted with plenty of courtly promiſes, and for his own ſecurity he was not backward in relating them to his brethren; otherwiſe, they would have killed both him and me; which would have reconciled them to the French, who a few days before, had propoſed our maſſacre by a long formal meſſage to them, as they afterwards informed me. I plainly ſaw their minds were unfixed, for their civil war proved very ſharp. *Minggo Puſhkooſh* and ſeveral head-men conducted me from town to town, to the crowd of the ſeven lower towns, which lie next to New Orleans: but they took proper care to make our ſtages ſhort enough, that I might have the honour to converſe with all their beloved men and chief warriors, and have the favour to give them plenty of preſents, in return for ſo great an obligation. The Indian head-men deem it a trifle to go hundreds of miles, on ſuch a gladſome errand; and very few of them are ſlow in honouring the traders with a viſit, and a long, rapid, poetic ſpeech. They will come ſeveral miles to diſpoſe of a deer-ſkin.

When I arrived at the thick ſettlement of theſe lower towns, I began to imagine they had opened a communication with their ſubterranean brethren of Nanne Yah; I was honoured with the company of a greater number of red chiefs of war, and old beloved men, than probably ever appeared in imperial Rome. They in a very friendly manner, tied plenty of bead-garters round my neck, arms, and legs, and decorated me, *a la mode America.* I did myſelf the honour to fit them out with ſilver arm-plates, gorgets, wriſt-plates, ear-bobs, &c. &c. which they kindly received, and proteſted they would never part with them, for the ſake of the giver. However, by all my perſuaſions, they would not undertake to ſtorm Tumbikpe-fort, though I offered to accompany them, and put them in a ſure way of carrying it. They told me I was mad, for the roaring of the cannon was as dreadful as the ſharpeſt thunder, and that the French with one of their great balls would tear me in pieces, as ſoon as I appeared in view.

While they declined a French war, their own civil war became bitter beyond expreſſion. They frequently engaged, one party againſt the other, in the open fields: when our friends had fired away all their ammunition, they took to their hiccory-bows and barbed arrows, and ruſhed on the oppoſite party, with their bare tomohawks, like the moſt deſperate veterans, regardleſs of life. They did not ſeem to regard dying ſo much, as the genteel appearance they made when they took the open field, on purpoſe to kill or be killed. They uſed to tell the Engliſh traders they were going on ſuch a day to fight, or die for them, and earneſtly importuned them for a Stroud blanket, or white ſhirt a-piece, that they might make a genteel appearance in Engliſh cloth, when they died. It was not ſafe to refuſe them, their minds were ſo diſtracted by the deſperate ſituation of their affairs; for as they were very ſcarce of ammunition, the French wiſely headed their friend-party, with ſmall cannon, battered down the others ſtockaded-forts, and in the end reduced them to the neceſſity of a coalition. Theſe evils were occaſioned merely by the avarice and madneſs of thoſe I have ſtiled the Sphynx-Company.

At this dangerous time, the ſmall-pox alſo was by ſome unknown means conveyed into the Choktah country, from below: and it depopulated them as much as the civil war had done. The Choktah who eſcorted me into the Chikkaſah nation, were infected with that malady in the woods, and ſoon ſpread it among others; theſe, a little time after, among the Muſkohge, who were in company with me, on our way to Charles-town. I unluckily had the honour to receive from the Governor, another polite letter, dated September the 17th, anno 1749, citing me, under the great ſeal of the province, to come down with a party of Indians, as I had given his excellency notice of their deſire of paying a friendly viſit to South Carolina. And having purchaſed and redeemed three French captives which the Chikkaſah had taken in war, under their leader *Pa-Yah-Matahah*, I now beſtowed them on him, to enable him to make a flouriſhing entrance into Charles-town, after the manner of their American triumphs. He was very kind to them, though their manners were as ſavage as his own: excepting a few beads they uſed to count, with a ſmall ſilver croſs faſtened to the top of them, they had nothing to diſtinguiſh them, and were ignorant of every point of Chriſtianity. I ſet off with above twenty warriors, and a few women, along with the aforeſaid war-leader, for Charles-town. As the French kept a watchful eye on my conduct, and the commanding officers of Tumbikpe garriſon in the Choktah, and the Alebahma in the Muſkohge country kept a continual communication with each other, the former equipped a party of their Choktah to retake the French captives by force, if we did not previouſly deliver them to a French party of the Muſkohge, who were ſent by the latter as in the name of the whole nation, though falſely, to terrify us into a compliance. We had to paſs through the Muſkohge country in our way to the Britiſh ſettlements; and though the French were at a great diſtance, yet they planned their ſchemes with conſummate wiſdom: for the two companies met at the time appointed, from two oppoſite courſes of about a hundred and fifty miles apart, on the moſt difficult paſs from Charles-town to the Miſſiſippi, where the path ran through a ſwamp of ten miles, between high mountains; which were impaſſable in any other place for a great diſtance, on either ſide. Here, the Muſkohge left the Choktah company, and met us within half-a-day's march of their advantageous camping place. The foremoſt of our party had almoſt fired on thoſe Muſkohge who were a-head of the reſt; but, as ſoon as they ſaw their white emblems of peace, they forebore, and we joined company. As ſoon as I heard them tell their errand, I ſent out three warriors to reconnoitre the place, leſt we ſhould unawares be ſurrounded by another party of them; but there was no ambuſcade. The Muſkohge leader was called by the traders, "the Lieutenant," and had been a ſteady friend to their intereſt, till by our uſual miſmanagement in Indian affairs, he became entirely devoted to the French; his behaviour was confident, and his addreſs artful.

The red ambaſſador ſpoke much of the kindly diſpoſition of the French to ſuch of his countrymen as were poor, and of their generous protection to the whole; contraſted with the ambitious views of the Engliſh, who were not content with their deer-ſkins and beaver, but coveted their lands. He ſaid, " the Muſkohge were ſorry and ſurpriſed that their old friends the Chikkaſah, in concert with a mad Engliſhman, ſhould ſeduce their warriors to join with them to ſpill the blood of their French beloved friends, when they were by national conſent, only to revenge crying blood againſt the Aquahpah; and that the former would be aſhamed to allow the latter to carry thoſe captives, who were their friends, through their nation to Charles-town. But, ſaid he, as the Muſkohge are deſirous always to ſhake hands with the Chikkaſah, the head-men have ſent me in their name, to requeſt you *Pa-Yah-Matahah* and other beloved warriors, to deliver to me thoſe unfortunate priſoners, as a full proof you are deſirous of tying faſt the old friend-knot, which you have looſed in ſome meaſure." In this manner, the red ambaſſador of the dangerous Alebahma French captain flouriſhed away and waited for a favourable anſwer, according to the confident hopes his employer had taught him to entertain, by the ſtrong motive of ſelf-intereſt.

But though the daring Chikkaſah leader, and each of us, according to cuſtom were ſilent, during the recital of the diſagreeable harangue, only by ſtern-ſpeaking countenances, *Pa-Yah-Matahah* replied, " O you Muſkohge corrupted chieftain, who are degenerated ſo low as to become a ſtrong-mouthed friend of the French, whoſe tongues are known of a long time, to be forked like thoſe of the dangerous ſnakes; your ſpeech has run through my ears, like the noiſe of a threatening high wind, which attacks the traveller as ſoon as he climbs to the top of a rugged ſteep mountain: though as he came along, the air was ſcarcely favourable enough for him to breathe in. You ſpeak highly in praiſe of the French; and ſo do the baſer ſort of the Choktah, becauſe every year they receive preſents to make their lying mouths ſtrong. That empty ſounding kettle, faſtened at the top of your bundle along ſide of you, I know to be French, and a true picture both of their meſſages, and methods of ſending them. The other things it contains, I gueſs, are of the ſame forked-tongued family; for if your ſpeech had come from your own heart, it muſt have been ſtraighter. What can be more crooked than it now is? Though I have no occaſion to make any reply to your unjuſt complaints againſt the Engliſh people, as their chieftain, my friend, has his ears open, and can eaſily confute all you ſaid againſt his people and himſelf; yet to prevent any needleſs delay on our day's march, I ſhall give as full an anſwer to your ſpeech, as the ſhort time we can ſtay here will allow. Since the time the Engliſh firſt ſhaked hands with you, have not they always held you faſt by the arm, cloſe to their heart, contrary to the good liking of your favourite French? And had they not helped you with a conſtant ſupply of every thing you ſtood in need of, in what manner could you have lived at home? Beſides, how could you have ſecured your land from being ſpoiled by the many friendly red people of the French, iſſuing from the cold north? Only for their brotherly help, the artful and covetous French, by the weight of preſents and the ſkill of their forked tongues, would before now, have ſet you to war againſt each other, in the very ſame manner they have done by the Choktah; and when by long and ſharp ſtruggles, you had greatly weakened yourſelves, they by the aſſiſtance of their northern red friends, would have ſerved you in the very ſame manner, their lying mouths, from their own guilty hearts, have taught you ſo unjuſtly and ſhamefully to repeat of the Engliſh. You have openly acknowledged your baſe ingratitude to your beſt and old ſteady friends, who, I believe, could damage you as much as they have befriended you, if you provoke them to it. Allowing the ſpeech you have uttered with your mouth to be true, that you are ſent by all the red chieftains of your Muſkohge people, were your hearts ſo weak as to imagine it could any way frighten the Chikkaſah? Ye well know, the ugly yellow French have proved moſt bitter enemies to us, ever ſince we diſappointed them in their ſpiteful deſign of inſlaving and murdering our poor, defenceleſs, and inoffenſive red brethren, the Nahchee, on the banks of the Meſheſheepe water-path. Ye may love them, if it ſeems good to your hearts; your example that way ſhall have no weight with us. We are born and bred in a ſtate of war with them: and though we have loſt the greater part of our people, chiefly through the mean ſpirit of their red hirelings, who were continually ſtealing our people for the ſake of a reward; yet they feelingly know we beat them, and their employers, in every public engagement. We are the ſame people, and we ſhall certainly live and die, in ſuch a manner as not to ſully the ancient character of our warlike fore-fathers. As the French conſtantly employed their red people in acts of enmity againſt our Engliſh traders, as well as us,—my beloved friend, ſtanding there before you, complained of it to the *Goweno-Minggo* in Charles-town, (the Governor of South-Carolina) and he gave him *Hoolbo Hooreſo Paraſka Orehtoopa*, (their method of expreſſing our provincial ſeal, for *hoolbo* ſignifies a picture, *hooreſo* marked, or painted, *paraſka* made bread of, and *oretoopa* beloved, or of high note or power,) I and my warriors gladly ſhaked hands with his ſpeech; and ſo did thoſe of your own country, who aſſured us, they always ſcorned to be ſervants to the crafty lying French. At their own deſire, our old beloved men crowned them warriors, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner. They were free either to ſhut or open their ears to the Engliſh beloved ſpeech. And why ſhould we not be as free to go to war againſt our old enemies, as you are againſt yours? We are your friends by treaty; but we ſcorn a mean compliance to any demand, that would caſt a diſgrace on our national character. You have no right to demand of me thoſe ugly French priſoners. We took them in war, at the riſque of blood: and at home in our national council, we firmly agreed not to part with any of them, in a tame manner, till we got to Charles-town. If the Muſkohge are as deſirous as we, to continue to hold each other firmly by the hand, we ſhall never looſe the friend-knot: we believe ſuch a tie is equally profitable to each of us, and hope to continue it, to the lateſt times."

When the French ambaſſador found he muſt fail in his chief aim, he with a very ſubmiſſive tone, requeſted the Chikkaſah war-leader to give him a token, whereby he might get the other captives who were left at home: but as they uſually deny with modeſty, he told him, he could not adviſe him to take the trouble to go there, as he believed the head-men had kept them behind on purpoſe that they ſhould be burnt at the ſtake, if any miſchance befell him and his warriors, before they returned home, on account of his French priſoners. Finding that his threats and entreaties both proved ineffectual, he was obliged to acquieſce. Soon after, we ſet off, and he and his chagrined mercenaries quietly took up their travelling bundles, and followed us.

On that day's march, a little before we entered the long ſwamp, all our Chikkaſah friends ſtaid behind, killing and cutting up buffalo:

falo: By this means, I was a conſiderable way before the pack-horſes, when we entered into that winding and difficult paſs, which was a continued thicket. After riding about a mile, I diſcovered the freſh tracks of three Indians. I went back, put the white people on their guard, gave my horſe and ſword to a corpulent member of the Sphynx-company, and ſet off a-head, ſhunning the path in ſuch places where the ſavages were moſt likely to poſt themſelves. Now and then I put up the whoop on different ſides of the path, both to ſecure myſelf and intimidate the oppoſite ſcout-party; otherwiſe, I might have paid dear for it, as I ſaw from a riſing point, the canes where they were paſſing, to ſhake. I became more cautious, and they more fearful of being incloſed by our party. They ran off to their camp, and ſpeedily from thence up the craggy rocks, as their tracks teſtified. Their lurking place was as artfully choſen, as a wolf could have fixed on his den. When our friendly Indians came to our camp, it was too late to give chaſe: they only viewed their tracks. At night, the Chikkaſah war-leader gave out a very enlivening war ſpeech, well adapted to the circumſtances of time and place, and each of us lay in the woodland-form of a war-camp. As we were on our guard, the enemy did not think it conſiſtent with their ſafety to attack us —ambuſcading is their favourite plan of operation. The next day by agreement, the Indians led the van, and I brought up the rear with the French priſoners. A ſhort way from our camp, there were ſteep rocks, very difficult for loaded horſes to rear and aſcend. Moſt of them had the good fortune to get ſafe up, but ſome which I eſcorted, tumbled backwards; this detained us ſo long, that the van gained near three miles upon us. I poſted myſelf on the top of one of the rocks, as a centinel to prevent our being ſurpriſed by the Choktah, and diſcovered them crawling on the ground behind trees, a conſiderable way off, on the ſide of a ſteep mountain, oppoſite to us. I immediately put up the war whoop, and told a young man with me the occaſion of it; but he being fatigued and vexed with his ſharp exerciſe, on account of the horſes, only curſed them, and ſaid, we were warriors, and would fight them, if they durſt come near enough. As I was cool, I helped and haſtened him off: in the mean while, I cautioned the captives againſt attempting to fly to the enemy in caſe they attacked us, as their lives ſhould certainly pay for it—and they promiſed they would not. We at laſt ſet off, and met with no interruption: the enemy having a ſharp dread of our party ahead, who would have ſoon ran back to our aſſiſtance, had they attacked us—About an hour after our company, we got to camp. The Choktah at night came down from the mountains, and creeped after us. Our camp was pitched on very convenient ground, and as they could not ſurpriſe us, they only viewed at a proper diſtance, and retired. But they uſed an artful ſtratagem, to draw ſome of us into their treacherous ſnares; for they ſtole one of the bell horſes, and led it away to a place near their den, which was about a mile below us, in a thicket of reeds, where the creek formed a ſemi-circle. This horſe was a favourite with the gallant and active young man I had eſcorted the day before to camp.

As he was of a chearful and happy temper, the people were much ſurpriſed to find him at night peeviſh and querulous, contrary to every part of his paſt conduct; and though he delighted in arms, and carried them conſtantly when he went from camp, yet he went out without any this night, though I preſſed him to take them. In leſs than an hour, he returned ſafe, but confuſed and dejected. When he ſat down, he drooped his head on his hands, which were placed on his knees, and ſaid, the enemy were lurking, and that we ſhould ſoon be attacked, and ſome of us killed. As I pitied the ſtate of his mind, I only told him, that yeſterday, he and I knew the French ſavages were watching to take an advantage of us; but for his ſatisfaction I would take a ſweep, on foot, while the Chikkaſah painted themſelves, according to their war-cuſtom when they expect to engage an enemy. I went out with my gun, pouch, and belt-piſtols, and within two-hundred yards of the camp, diſcovered the enemies tracks; they had paſſed over a boggy place of the creek, upon an old hurricane-tree. I proceeded with the utmoſt caution, poſting myſelf now and then behind large trees, and looking out ſharply leſt I ſhould fall into an ambuſcade, which the Choktah are cunning artiſts in forming. In this manner I marched for three quarters of an hour, and then took to high ground, a little above the enemies camp, in order to return for help to attack them. But the aforeſaid brave youth, led on by his ill genius, at this time mounted a fiery horſe, which ſoon ran into the ambuſcade, where they ſhot him with a bullet in his breaſt, and another entered a little below the heart. The horſe wheeled round in an inſtant, and ſprung off, but in pitching over a large fallen tree, the unfortunate rider, by reaſon of his mortal wounds, fell off, a victim to the barbarians. One of them ſoon ſtruck a tomohawk into his head, juſt between his eyes, and jerked off a piece of ſcalp about the bigneſs of a dollar—they took alſo his Indian breeches, and an handkerchief he had on his head, and immediately flew through a thicket of briars, to ſecure their retreat. When they fired their two guns, I immediately gave the ſhrill war-whoop, which was reſounded by one of the Chikkaſah that had been out a hunting from the camp. They inſtantly ſet off full ſpeed, naked, except their Indian breeches and maccaſenes. I put myſelf in the ſame flying trim, on the enemies firing; we ſoon came to the tragical ſpot, but without ſtopping, we took their tracks, gave chaſe, and continued it a great way: unluckily, as we were running down a ſteep hill, they diſcovered us from the top of another, and ſoon diſperſed themſelves; by which means, not being able to diſcover one track of thoſe foxes on the hard hilly ground, we were obliged to give over the chace, and returned to camp. We buried our friend, by fixing in a regular manner a large pile of great logs for the corpſe, with big tough ſapplings bent over it, and on each ſide, thruſt deep into the ground, to ſecure it from the wild beaſts. Though the whole camp at firſt imagined the enemy had killed me and captivated the other, yet the warriors did not ſhew the leaſt emotion of gladneſs, nor even my favourite friend, the war-leader, when they firſt ſaw me ſafe: but the women received me with tears of joy. I mention this to ſhew the force of education and habit—thoſe who are uſed to ſcenes of war and blood, become obdurate and are loſt to all the tender feelings of nature; while they, whoſe employment it is to mourn for their dead, are ſuſceptible of the tender impreſſions they were originally endued with by Deity.

As the French frequently had been great ſufferers by the Chikkaſah, ever ſince the year 1730, neceſſity obliged them to bear their loſſes with patience, till they could get them revenged by the friendly hands of their red mercenaries. As ſoon as they had ingratiated themſelves into the affections of all thoſe Indians who were incorporated among the Muſkohge, and had ſettled them near the Alebahma-garriſon; and other towns, beſides head-men, in ſundry parts of the nation, being devoted to their ſervice, they imagined they had now intereſt enough to get ſeveral of thoſe warriors killed, who had joined the Chikkaſah againſt their people over the Miſſiſippi. But the old head-men of the Muſkohge convened together, and agreed to ſend a peremptory meſſage to the French, ordering them, forthwith, to deſiſt from their bloody politics, otherwiſe the river ſhould carry their blood down to Mobille, and tell that garriſon, their own treachery was the ſole occaſion of it, by miſchievouſly endeavouring to foment a civil war between them, as they boaſted they had done among the fooliſh Choktah. With much regret they laid aſide their ſcheme, and were forced openly to wipe away the memory of every thing which had before given them offence; and to include all indiſcriminately in the treaty of friendſhip, as all had only one fire. This proved a mortifying ſtroke to the French on ſundry accounts: and during the continuance of this diſtracted ſcene, if any Britiſh governor of capacity and public ſpirit, had properly exerted himſelf, they muſt have withdrawn to Mobille, without any poſſibility of ever returning. For the enmity would ſoon have advanced to a moſt implacable hatred, as in the caſe of the Chikkaſah and French: but ſuch a conduct was incompatible with the private views of ſome among us.

As the ſmall-pox broke out in our camp, when we got nigh to the Muſkohge country, and detained the Indians there till they recovered, I ſet off without them for Charles-town. By the benefit of the air, and their drinking a ſtrong decoction of hot roots, they all recovered. A Choktah warrior of Yahſhoo-town, humorouſly told me afterwards, that *ookka hoomeh*, "the bitter waters," meaning ſpirituous liquors, cured ſome people, while it killed others. He, by the advice of one of the Engliſh traders, adminiſtered it in pretty good doſes to ſeven of his children in the ſmall-pox, which kept out the corrupt humour, and in a ſhort time perfectly cured each of them, he ſaid, without the leaſt appearance of any dangerous ſymptoms; whereas the diſorder proved very mortal to the young people in the neighbourhood, who purſued a different courſe of phyſic. As moſt of the Indian traders are devotees of Bacchus, their materia medica conſiſts of ſpirituous liquors, compounded with ſtrong herbs and roots, of which they commonly have a good knowledge: and I have obſerved thoſe who have left off the trade, and reſide in the Britiſh ſettlements, to give their negroes for an anti-venereal, a large doſe of old Jamaica and qualified mercury mixt together,—which, they ſay, the blacks cheerfully drink, without making a wry face, contrary to their uſage with every other kind of phyſic; and it is affirmed, that by this preſcription, they ſoon get well.

The ſmall pox with which the upper towns of the Muſkohge were infected, was of the confluent ſort, and it would have greatly depopulated them, if the officious advice of ſome among us, for all the other towns to cut off every kind of communication with them, on the penalty of death to any delinquent, had not been given and purſued. They accordingly poſted centinels at proper places, with ſtrict orders to kill ſuch, as the moſt dangerous of all enemies: and theſe cautious meaſures produced the deſired effect. And by the mean mediation of ſeveral of our principal traders, joined with the intereſt of their red friends, the commandant of the Alebahma fort, prevailed at laſt on the Chikkaſah chieftain to take the three French priſoners to him, as he would pay him to his own ſatisfaction, give him preſents, and drink with him as a friend, who had buried the bloody tomohawk deep in the ground. They were delivered up; and by that means the French were enabled to diſcourage thoſe Muſkohge warriors, who had joined the Chikkaſah in the aforeſaid acts of hoſtility againſt the Miſſiſippi inhabitants. In about the ſpace of three months from the time the Chikkaſah left their own country with me, they arrived at the late New-Windſor garriſon, the weſtern barrier of South-Carolina, and beautifully ſituated on a high commanding bank of the pleaſant meandering Savanah river; ſo termed on account of the Shawano Indians having formerly lived there, till by our fooliſh meaſures, they were forced to withdraw northward in defence of their freedom.

At the requeſt of the governor and council I rode there, to accompany our Chikkaſah friends to Charles-town, where, I believe, on my account, they met with a very cold reception: for as ſomething I wrote to the two gentlemen who fitted out, and ſuſtained the loſs of the Sphynx-company, had been inſerted in the "modeſt reply to his Excellency the Governor," formerly mentioned, in order to obtain bills of exchange on Great Britain, I was now become the great object of his diſpleaſure, and of a certain ſett, who are known to patroniſe any perſons if they chance to be born in the ſame corner of the world with themſelves. The Chikkaſah had a very ungracious audience: On account of the exceſſive modeſty of this warlike people, their chieftain gave out a ſhort oration, without hinting in the moſt diſtant manner, at any difficulties they underwent, by reaſon of their ſtrong attachment to the Britiſh Americans,—concluding, that as the Engliſh beloved men were endowed with a ſurpriſing gift of expreſſing a great deal in few words, long ſpeeches would be troubleſome to them. He intended to have ſpoken afterwards of the Choktah affairs, and that I was a great ſufferer by them, without any juſt retribution, and accordingly was very deſirous of a ſecond public interview; but our cunning beloved man artfully declined it, though they ſtaid as late as the middle of April. It was a cuſtom with the colony of South-Carolina towards thoſe Indians who came on a friendly viſit, to allow them now and then a tolerable quantity of ſpirituous liquors, to cheer their hearts, after their long journey; but, if I am not miſtaken, thoſe I accompanied, had not a drop, except at my coſt. And when the Governor gave them, at the entrance of the council-chamber, ſome trifling preſents, he hurried them off with ſuch an air as vexed them to the heart; which was aggravated by his earneſtly pointing at a noted war-leader, and myſelf, with an angry countenance, ſwearing that Indian had been lately down from Savanah, and received preſents. They had ſo much ſpirit that they would not on any account have accepted his preſents, but for my perſuaſions. As for myſelf, I could not forbear ſaying, honour compelled me as ſolemnly to declare that his aſſertion was not true, and that I had often given more to the Choktah at one time, than he had ever given to the Chikkaſah, in order to rivet their enmity againſt the French of Louiſiana, and thereby open a laſting trade with them, from which I was unfairly excluded, on account of a friendly monopoly, granted by him for a certain end to mere ſtrangers. My words ſeemed to lie pretty ſharp upon him, and I ſuppoſe contributed not a little to the uncourtly leave he took of our gallant, and faithful old friends. Soon after, at the requeſt of the Governor and council however, I accompanied them the firſt day's march, on their way home from Charles-town: they had no public order of credit for their needful travelling charges, though I ſollicited his Excellency and the council to grant them one, according to the ancient, hoſpitable, and wiſe cuſtom of South-Carolina, to all Indians who paid them a friendly viſit, whoſe journey was far ſhorter, were often uninvited, and of much leſs ſervice, than the Chikkaſah to the Britiſh intereſt. As their horſes were very poor, I told the Governor they could travel only at a ſlow pace, and as the wild game was ſcarce in our ſettlements, hunger, and reſentment for their unkind uſage, would probably tempt them to kill the planters ſtock, which might produce bad conſequences, and ought to be cautiouſly guarded againſt; but I was an unfortunate ſolicitor.

With a flow of contrary paſſions I took my leave of our gallant Chikkaſah friends. I viewed them with a tender eye, and revolved in my mind the fatigues, difficulties, and dangers, they had cheerfully undergone, to teſtify the intenſe affection they bore to the Britiſh Americans,—with the ill treatment they had received from our chief magiſtrate, on account of his own diſappointments, and ſharp-felt cenſures, for ſome ſuppoſed miſmanagement, or illicit meaſures in trade. He is reported to have been no way churliſh to ſeveral of the daſtardly Choktah, notwithſtanding his unprecedented and unkind treatment of our warlike Chikkaſah—two hundred of which would attack five hundred of the others, and defeat them with little loſs. Their martial bravery has often teſtified this againſt enemies even of a greater ſpirit.

Not long after the Chikkaſah returned homeward, I advertiſed in the weekly paper, that as I intended to leave Charles-town in a ſhort time, I was ready and willing to anſwer any of the legiſlative body ſuch queſtions as they might be pleaſed to propoſe to me concerning our Indian affairs, before the expiration of ſuch a time; and that if his Excellency deſired my attendance, and either notified it in writing, or by a proper officer, I might be found at my old lodgings. On the evening of the very laſt day I had propoſed to ſtay, he ſent me a peremptory written order to attend that night, on public buſineſs, concerning Indian affairs; I punctually obeyed, with reſpect to both time and place. He was now in a dilemma, by reaſon of his (ſuppoſed) ſelf-intereſted conduct concerning the Choktah trade, which occaſioned the aforeſaid *modeſt reply*, that arraigned his proceedings with ſeverity and plainneſs. As I came down with the Indians, and was detained by his Excellency, under the great ſeal of the province, till this period, April 1750, I had juſt reaſon to expect that good faith would have been kept with me—that I ſhould have been paid according to promiſe, at leaſt for all the goods I gave the Indians, by virtue thereof; and have had a juſt compenſation for the great expences I was at in ſerving the government;—but except the the trifling ſum of four pounds ſterling, when I was ſetting off for the Indian country, I never received one farthing of the public money, for my very expenſive, faithful, and difficult ſervices.

In moſt of our American colonies, there yet remain a few of the natives, who formerly inhabited thoſe extenſive countries: and as they were friendly to us, and ſerviceable to our intereſts, the wiſdom and virtue of our legiſlature ſecured them from being injured by the neighbouring nations. The French ſtrictly purſued the ſame method, deeming ſuch to be more uſeful than any others on alarming occaſions. We called them "Parched-corn-Indians," becauſe they chiefly uſe it for bread, are civilized, and live moſtly by planting. As they had no connection with the Indian nations, and were deſirous of living peaceable under the Britiſh protection, none could have any juſt plea to kill or inſlave them. But the graſping plan of the French required thoſe dangerous ſcout-parties, as they termed them, to be removed out of the way; and the dormant conduct of the South-Carolina chief, gave them an opportunity to effect that part of their deſign; though timely notice, even years before, had been given by the Cheerake traders, that the French prieſts were poiſoning the minds of thoſe Indians againſt us, who live among the Apalahche mountains, and were endeavouring to reconcile them to all the various nations of the Miſſiſippi and Canada ſavages; and that there was the greateſt probability they would accompliſh their dangerous plan, unleſs we ſoon took proper meaſures to prevent it. The informers had ill names and reſentment for their news, and the aſſembly was charged with miſpending their time, in taking notice of the wild incoherent reports of illiterate obſcure perſons. But it afterwards appeared, that according to their teſtimony, the intereſt and ſecurity of South-Carolina were in great danger. By the diligence of the French, their Indians entered into a treaty of friendſhip with the Cheerake: and their country became the rendezvous of the red pupils of the black Jeſuits. Hence they ravaged South-Carolina, beginning at the frontier weak ſettlements, and gradually advanced through the country, for the ſpace of eight years, deſtroying the live ſtock, inſulting, frightening, wounding, and ſometimes killing the inhabitants, burning their houſes, carrying away their ſlaves, and committing every kind of devaſtation, till they proceeded ſo low as within thirty miles of Charles-town. The ſufferers often exhibited their complaints, in the moſt pathetic and public manner; and the whole country felt the ill effects of the late over-bearing and negligent conduct. Falſe colouring could ſerve no longer, and a few inconſiderable parties were ſent out—but not finding any enemy, they were in a few months diſbanded, and peaceable accounts were again ſent home.

Our Settlement-Indians were at this time cloſely hunted, many were killed, and others carried off. A worthy gentleman, G. H. Eſq; who lived at the Conggarees, ſuffered much on the occaſion—he was employed to go to the Cheerake country, in queſt of valuable minerals, in company with an Indian commiſſioner:—in one of their middle towns, he retook ſome of our Settlement-Indians from the Canada-ſavages, whom a little before they had captivated and carried off from South-Carolina in triumph. While they were beating the drum, ſinging, dancing, and pouring the utmoſt contempt on the Engliſh name, honour prompted him to prefer the public credit to his own ſafety. By the earneſt mediation of one of the traders, the head-men of the town conſented to be neutral in the affair, and act as impartial friends to both parties. He then, with Col. F—x, and ſome of the traders, went in a warlike gallant manner, and regardleſs of the ſavages threats, took and brought to a trader's houſe, our captivated friends:—they ſtood all night on their arms, and at a convenient interval, ſupplied thoſe whom they had liberated, with neceſſaries to carry them to our ſettlements, where their truſty heels ſoon carried them ſafe. The gallant behaviour of thoſe gentlemen gained the applauſe of the Cheerake—and each ſoon returned in ſafety, without any interruption, to their reſpective homes, where I wiſh they had ever after continued. But Mr. G. H. having conſiderably engaged himſelf in trade with the Katahba Indians, ſet off afterwards in company with an half-bred Indian of that nation, the favourite ſon of Mr. T. B. a famous old trader: in their way to the Katahba, they were intercepted, and taken by ſome of the very ſavages who had threatened him among the Cheerake, when he releaſed our domeſtic Indians. The government of South-Carolina was ſoon informed of the unhappy affair: and they diſpatched a friendly embaſſy to the lower towns of the Cheerake, requeſting them to intercept and retake the priſoners, if they paſſed near their country, and offered a conſiderable reward. Our friends were carried a little to the northward of the Cheerake nation, where their captors camped ſeveral days, and the Cheerake held with them an open friendly intercourſe, as in deſpite to the Engliſh. The head men of the lower towns, not only ſtopped the traders and their red friends from going to reſcue them,

but

but likewiſe threatened them for their generous intention. The ſavages, inſtead of keeping a due northern courſe homeward, took a large compaſs north-weſt, by the ſide of the Cheerake mountains, being afraid of a purſuit from the Katahba Indians. They marched faſt with their two captives, to ſecure their retreat till they got within the bounds of the French treaty of peace, and then ſteered a due northern courſe, continuing it till they got nigh to their reſpective countries, where they parted in two bodies, and each took one of the priſoners with them. But as travelling ſo great a way in the heat of ſummer, was what Mr. G. H. was unaccuſtomed to, he was ſo much overcome by fatigue and ſickneſs, that for ſeveral days before, he could not poſſibly walk. He then requeſted them to put him out of his miſery, but they would not; for they reckoned his civil language to them proceeded from bodily pains, and from a martial ſpirit, which they regard. They conſented to carry him on a bier, which they did both with care and tenderneſs. But on parting with his companion, he refuſed abſolutely to proceed any farther with them, when they tomohawked him, juſt as his parted friend was out of the hearing of it. The laſt afterwards got home, and told us this melancholy exit of our worthy and much-lamented friend—who died as he lived, always deſpiſing life, when it was to be preſerved only in a ſtate of ſlavery. Though he was thus loſt to his family and the community, by a manly performance of the duties of his office, in which he engaged by the preſſing entreaties of the Governor, yet his widow was treated ungenerouſly and baſely, as was Capt. J. P. at the Conggarees.—But there would be no end, if we were to enter into particulars of court policy, and government honor and gratitude.

If our watch-men had not been quite remiſs, they would have at leaſt oppoſed the French emiſſaries on their firſt approach to our colonies, and have protected our valuable civilized Indians; for our negroes were afraid to run away, leſt they ſhould fall into their hands. The ſcheming French knew of what importance they were to us, and therefore they employed their red friends to extirpate them. And while thoſe remote ſavages of Miſſiſippi and Canada were pretending to ſeek the revenge of ſome old grievance, they wounded us at the ſame time in two very material points,—in getting a thorough knowledge of the ſituation of our moſt valuable, but weak ſouthern colonies, and thus could ſtrike us the deeper,—and in deſtroying ſuch of our inhabitants, as were likely to prove the greateſt check to their intended future depredations. By our own miſconduct, we twice loſt the Shawano Indians; who have ſince proved very hurtful to our colonies in general. When the French employed them to weaken South-Carolina, a ſmall company of them were ſurrounded and taken in a remote houſe of the lower ſettlements: and though they ought to have been inſtantly put to death, in return for their frequent barbarities to our people, yet they were conveyed to priſon, confined a conſiderable time, and then diſcharged, to the great loſs of many innocent lives. For as the Indians reckon impriſonment to be inſlaving them, they never forgive ſuch treatment; and as ſoon as theſe got clear, they left bloody traces of their vindictive tempers, as they paſſed along. About this time, a large company of French ſavages came from the head-ſtreams of Monongahela-river to the Cheerake, and from thence were guided by one of them to where our ſettlement-Indians reſided. They went to a ſmall town of the *Euhchee*, about twelve miles below Savanah-town, and two below Silver-bluff, where G. G. Eſq; lives, and there watched like wolves, till by the mens making a day's hunt, they found an opportunity to kill the women and children. Immediately after which, they ſcouted off different ways, ſome through Savanah-river, which is about 200 yards broad; and others to the hunting place, both for their own ſecurity, and to give the alarm: We had on this occaſion, a ſtriking inſtance of the tender affection of the Indian women to their children, for all thoſe who eſcaped, carried off their little ones. The men, by the alarming ſignal of the ſhrill-ſounding war-cry, ſoon joined, ran home, and without ſtaying to view the bloody tragedy, inſtantly took the enemies tracks, and eagerly gave chaſe. To avoid the dreaded purſuit, the Cheerake guide led the French mercenaries a northern courſe, as far as the thick woods extended, which was about fifteen miles from the place of their murders. From thence they ſhifted toward the north-weſt, and were ſtretching away about 10 miles to the north of Auguſta, for Ninety-Six, which lay in a direct line to the lower towns of the Cheerake; when unluckily for them, juſt as they were entering into the open, and long-continued pine-barren, they were diſcovered by one of our hunting white men, who was mounted on an excellent white horſe, and therefore a fine mark to be ſhot; which they would have done for their own ſecurity, only he outſtripped them, and kept in their back-tracks, to trace them to their theatre of blood—their poſture and countenances plainly told him what they had done, on ſome of our barriers. He had not proceeded far, when he met the enraged Euhchee, on the hot purſuit. He told them their courſe, and that their number was twenty-ſix. In running about twelve miles farther, they came in ſight of the objects of their hatred and rage: preſently, they ran on each ſide of them, engaged them cloſely, and killed ſeveral. Thoſe who eſcaped, were forced to throw away nine guns, (they had taken from ſome of our people) and almoſt every thing, even their light breeches, to ſave their lives. They were ſo exceedingly terrified, leſt the enraged purſuers ſhould continue the chaſe, that they paſſed wide of our then weak ſettlement of Ninety-Six, and kept on day and night, till they got near to their conductor's mountainous country. This was in the beginning of May 1750: and in our Indian-trading way, we ſay that, when the heat of the new year enables the ſnakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the ſavages are equally moved to turn out to do miſchief. Many have experimentally felt the truth of this remark.

I had at this time occaſion to go to the Cheerake country; and happened to have a brave chearful companion, Mr. H. F. of Ninety-Six ſettlement. We had taken a hearty draught of punch, about ten miles from Keeohwhee-town, oppoſite to which the late Fort-Prince-George ſtood, and were proceeding along, when we diſcovered the freſh tracks of Indians in the path, who were gone a-head. As we could not reaſonably have the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being enemies, we rode quite careleſly: but they proved to be the above-mentioned Monongahela-Indians. Their watchfulneſs, and our ſinging, with the noiſe of our horſes feet, made them hear us before they could poſſibly ſee us,—when they ſuddenly poſted themſelves off the path, behind ſome trees, juſt in the valley of Six-mile-creek, in order to revenge their loſs by the Euhchee, which they aſcribed to the information of the white man. But their Cheerake guide prevented them from attempting it, by telling them, that as his country was not at war with us, his life muſt pay for it, if they chanced to kill either of us; and as we were freſh and well-armed, they might be ſure we would fight them ſo ſucceſsfully, as at leaſt one of us ſhould eſcape and alarm the towns: with this caution they forbore the hazardous attempt. They ſquatted, and kept cloſe therefore, ſo as we did not ſee one of them; and we ſuſpected no danger. By the diſcontinuance of their tracks, we ſoon knew we had paſſed them: but, juſt when we had hidden two cags of rum, about two miles from the town, four of them appeared, unarmed, ſtark naked, and torn by the thickets. When we diſcovered them, we concluded they had been below on miſchief. If we had not been ſo nigh the town, my companion would have fired at them. We went into the town, and the traders there ſoon informed us of their cowardly deſign.

We went as far as the mid-ſettlements, and found moſt of the towns much diſaffected to us, and in a fluctuating ſituation, through the artifice of the French. In a few days we returned, but found they had blocked up all the trading paths, to prevent our traders from making their eſcape. Juſt as we deſcended a ſmall mountain, and were about to aſcend a very ſteep one, a hundred yards before us, which was the firſt of the Apalahche, or blue ridge of mountains, a large company of the lower town Indians ſtarted out from the ſloping rocks, on the north ſide of the path, a little behind us. As they were naked except their breech-cloth, were painted red and black, and accoutered every way like enemies, I bid my companion leave the luggage-horſes and follow me: but as he left his arms at the lower town, and was not accuſtomed to ſuch ſurpriſes, it ſhocked him, till they ran down upon him. On this I turned back, and ſtood on my arms, expecting they would have fired upon us. However, they propoſed ſome queſtions, which I anſwered, as to where we had been, and were going, and that we were not any of their traders. Had it been otherwiſe, the diſpute would have been dangerous. We got over the mountain, and ſafe to Tymahſe; here we reſted two nights, and found the people diſtracted for miſchief, to which the many cauſes before mentioned prompted them. The governor, in leſs than a month after this period, had the ſtrongeſt confirmation of the ill intention of theſe ſavages and their allies. Many expreſſes with intelligence I ſent, but the news was pocketed, and my ſervices traduced—becauſe I would not aſſiſt the prime magiſtrate in a bad cauſe, he and his humble ſervants depreciated the long ſeries of public ſervices I had faithfully performed, and called them mere accidental trifles; contrary to his former acknowledgments, both verbal and in writing. The French, however, had a different opinion of my ſervices; they were ſo well acquainted with the great damages I had done to them, and feared others I might occaſion, as to confine me a cloſe priſoner for a fortnight when I went to the Alebahma-garriſon, in the Muſkohge country. They were fully reſolved to have ſent me down to Mobille or New Orleans, as a capital criminal, to be hanged for having abetted the Muſkohge, Chikkaſah, and Choktah, to ſhed a torrent of their chriſtian blood; though I had only retaliated upon them, the long train of blood they had years before wantonly ſpilled. They wanted to have confronted me with the French priſoners I formerly mentioned, and with the Long Lieutenant, whom we met two days before the Choktah killed one of our people below *Book'pharaab*, or the long ſwamp. I was well aſſured, he was to have gone down to be baptized, and ſo become a good Weſt-Florida-French chriſtian, in order to condemn me, the poor bloody heretic. I ſaw him, and they had by this time taught him to count beads; but I doubted not of being able to extricate myſelf ſome way or other. They appointed double centries over me, for ſome days before I was to be ſent down in the French king's large boat. They were ſtrictly charged againſt laying down their weapons, or ſuffering any hoſtile thing to be in the place where I was kept, as they deemed me capable of any miſchief. I was not indeed locked up, only at night, leſt it ſhould give umbrage to our friendly Indians, but I was to have been put in irons, as ſoon as the boat paſſed the Indian towns, that lay two miles below the fort, in the forks of the Kooſah and Okwhuſke rivers. About an hour before we were to ſet off by water, I eſcaped from them by land: and though they had horſes near at hand, and a corrupt town of ſavages ſettled within 150 yards of the garriſon, yet under thoſe diſadvantages, beſides heavy rains that looſened the ground the very night before, I took through the middle of the low land covered with briers, at full ſpeed. I heard the French clattering on horſe-back along the path, a great way to my left hand, and the howling ſavages purſuing my tracks with careful ſteps, but my uſual good fortune enabled me to leave them far enough behind, on a needleſs purſuit. As they had made my arms priſoners, I allowed them without the leaſt regret to carry down my horſes, clothes, &c. and puniſh them by proxy, in the manner they intended to have ſerved the owner, for his faithful ſervices to his country.

While Governor G— preſided in South-Carolina, it was needleſs to apply for a payment of the large debt the government owed me: but on his being ſucceeded by his Excellency W. H. L. Eſq; I imagined this a favourable time to make my addreſs. This worthy patriot had been well informed, by ſeveral Indian trading merchants of eminent character, of the expenſive, difficult, and faithful ſervices I had cheerfully done my country, to the amount of above one thouſand pounds ſterling on the public faith; and of the ungenerous returns I had received: he according to his natural kindneſs and humanity, promiſed to aſſiſt me. I then laid my caſe, with the well-known and important facts, before the members of the houſe of aſſembly in Charles town; and when they convened, preſented a memorial to the legiſlative body. But ſeveral of the country repreſentatives happened to be abſent; and as the governor could not be reaſonably expected in a ſhort time, to purify the infected air which had prevailed in that houſe for fourteen years, a majority of the members had evidently determined not to alleviate my long complaint of grievances. To invalidate its force, they objected, that my claim was old; but did not attempt to prove the leaſt tittle of what I exhibited to them to be falſe: they knew they could not. After a long and warm debate, when my ſecret enemies obſerved the clerk of the houſe was drawing near to the concluſion of my memorial, they ſeized on a couple of unfortunate monoſyllables. I had ſaid, that "the Indian Choktah had a great many *fine* promiſes;" the word *fine* was put to the torture, as reflecting on the very fine-promiſing gentleman. And in another ſentence, I mentioned the time his excellency the late Governor of South-Carolina did me the honour to write me a very *ſmooth* artful letter, by virtue of which I went all the way to Charles-town, &c. The word *ſmooth*, ſo highly ruffled the ſmooth tempers of thoſe gentlemen, that they carried a vote by a majority, and had it regiſtered, importing, that they objected againſt the indelicacy, or impropriety, of the language in my memorial, but not againſt the merit of its contents. The minute, I here in a more public manner record anew, to the laſting honour of the perſons who promoted it. The voice of oppreſſed truth, and injured innocence, can never be wholly ſtifled. Leſt my memorial ſhould again appear at the public bar of juſtice, in a leſs infected time, it was not ſent to the office; which indicates that the former art of pocketing was not yet entirely forgotten. Indeed every ſtate ſuffers more or leſs, from ſome malign influence, one time or other; but I have the happineſs to ſay that the infection was not univerſal. South-Carolina has always been bleſſed with ſteady patriots, even in the moſt corrupt times: and may ſhe abound with firm pillars of the conſtitution, according to our Magna Charta Americana, as in the preſent trying æra of bleſſed memory, ſo long as the heavenly rays ſhall beam upon us!

As the power and happineſs of Great Britain greatly depends on the proſperity of her American colonies, and the heart-ſoundneſs of her civil and eccleſiaſtical rulers—and as the welfare of America hangs on the balance of a proper intercourſe with their Indian neighbours, and can never be continued but by obſerving and inforcing on both ſides, a ſtrict adherence to treaties, ſupporting public faith, and allowing only a ſufficient number of ſuch faithful and capable ſubjects to deal with them, as may gain their affections, and prove faithful centinels for the public ſecurity—I preſume that the above relations, and obſervations, inſtead of being thought to be foreign, will be deemed eſſential to an hiſtory of the Indians. The remarks may be conducive alſo to the public welfare. Ignorance, or ſelf-intereſt, has hitherto wrongly informed the community of the true ſituation of our Indian affairs weſtward.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CHIKKASAH NATION.

THE Chikkaſah country lies in about 35 Deg. N. L. at the diſtance of 160 miles from the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſippi; 160 miles to the N. of the Choktah, according to the courſe of the trading path; about half way from Mobille, to the Illinois, from S. to N; to the W. N. W. of the Muſkohge (Creeks) about 300 computed miles, and a very mountainous winding path; from the Cheerake nearly W. about 540 miles; the late Fort-Loudon is by water 500 miles to the Chikkaſah landing place, but only 95 computed miles by land.

The Chikkaſah are now ſettled between the heads of two of the moſt weſtern branches of Mobille-river; and within twelve miles of the eaſtern main ſource of *Tahre Hache*, which lower down is called *Chokchooma*-river, as that nation made their firſt ſettlements there, after they came on the other ſide of the Miſſiſippi. Where it empties into this, they call it *Yahſhoo*-river. Their tradition ſays they had ten thouſand men fit for war, when they firſt came from the weſt, and this account ſeems very probable; as they, and the Choktah, and alſo the Chokchooma, who in proceſs of time were forced by war to ſettle between the two former nations, came together from the weſt as one family. The Chikkaſah in the year 1 20, had four large contiguous ſettlements, which lay nearly in the form of three parts of a ſquare, only that the eaſtern ſide was five miles ſhorter than the weſtern, with the open part toward the Choktah. One was called *Yaneka*, about a mile wide, and ſix miles long, at the diſtance of twelve miles from their preſent towns. Another was ten computed miles long, at the like diſtance from their preſent ſettlements, and from one to two miles broad. The towns were called *Shatara*, *Chookheereſo*, *Hykehah*, *Tuſkawillao*, and *Phalacheho*. The other ſquare was ſingle, began three miles from their preſent place of reſidence, and ran four miles in length, and one mile in breadth. This was called *Chookka Pharáah*, or "the long houſe." It was more populous than their whole nation contains at preſent. The remains of this once formidable people make up the northern angle of that broken ſquare. They now ſcarcely conſiſt of four hundred and fifty warriors, and are ſettled three miles weſtward from the deep creek, in a clear tract of rich land, about three miles ſquare, running afterward about five miles toward the N. W. where the old fields are uſually a mile broad. The ſuperior number of their enemies forced them to take into this narrow circle, for ſocial defence; and to build their towns, on commanding ground, at ſuch a convenient diſtance from one another, as to have their enemies, when attacked, between two fires.

Some of the old Nahchee Indians who formerly lived on the Miſſiſippi, two hundred miles weſt of the Choktah, told me the French demanded from every one of their warriors a dreſt buck-ſkin, without any value for it, i. e. they taxed them; but that the warriors hearts grew very croſs, and loved the deer-ſkins. According to the French accounts of the Miſſiſippi-Indians, this ſeems to have been in the year 1729. As thoſe Indians were of a peaceable and kindly diſpoſition, numerous and warlike, and always kept a friendly intercourſe with the Chikkaſah, who never had any good-will to the French; theſe ſoon underſtood their heart-burnings, and by the advice of the old Engliſh traders, carried them white pipes and tobacco in their own name and that of South-Carolina,—perſuading them with earneſtneſs and policy to cut off the French, as they were reſolved to inſlave them in their own beloved land. The Chikkaſah ſucceeded in their embaſſy. But as the Indians are ſlow in their councils on things of great importance, though equally cloſe and intent, it was the following year before they could put their grand ſcheme in execution. Some of their headmen indeed oppoſed the plan, yet they never diſcovered it. But when theſe went a hunting in the woods, the embers burſt into a raging flame. They attacked the French, who were flouriſhing away in the greateſt ſecurity; and, as was affirmed, they entirely cut off the garriſon, and neighbouring ſettlements, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, women, and children—the miſconduct of a few indiſcreet perſons, occaſioned ſo great a number of innocent lives to be thus cut off.

The Nahchee afterwards built and ſettled a ſtrong ſtockade fort, weſtward of their old fields, near a lake that communicates with *Bayouk Dargent*; but the enſuing ſummer, near 2000 French regulars and provincials, beſides a great body of the Choktah and other ſavages inveſted it. The beſieged ſallied on them, with the utmoſt fury, killed a conſiderable number, and in all probability, would have totally deſtroyed the white ſoldiery, but for the ſharp oppoſition of the Choktah in their own method of fighting. The Nahchee were at length repulſed, and bombarded with three mortars, which forced them to fly off different ways. The ſoldiers were too ſlow footed to purſue; but the Choktah, and other red allies, captivated a great number of them, and carried them to New Orleans, where ſeveral were burned, and the reſt ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt India Iſlands: the greater part however went to the Chikkaſah, where they were ſecured from the power of their French enemies. The French demanded them, but being abſolutely refuſed, unluckily for many thouſands of them, they formally declared war againſt the Chikkaſah. In the open fields the Chikkaſah bravely withſtood, and repelled the greateſt combined armies they were able to bring againſt them, north and ſouth, and gave them and their ſwarms of red allies ſeveral notable defeats.

A body of the lower French, and about fourteen hundred Choktah, attacked the Long Houſe Town, when only ſixty warriors were at home; yet they fought ſo deſperately, as to ſecure themſelves, their women and children, till ſome of the hunters, who had been immediately ſent for, came home to their aſſiſtance; when, though exceedingly inferior in number, they drove them off with great loſs. Another time, the lower and upper Louiſiana-French, and a great body of red auxiliaries, ſurpriſed late at night all their preſent towns, except Amalahta, that had about forty warriors, and which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the others. A conſiderable number of the enemy were poſted at every door, to prevent their eſcape; and what few ran out were killed on the ſpot. The French ſeemed quite ſure of their prey, having ſo well incloſed it. But, at the dawn of day, when they were capering and uſing thoſe flouriſhes, that are peculiar to that volatile nation, the other town drew round them ſtark naked, and painted all over red and black; thus they attacked them, killed numbers on the ſpot, releaſed their brethren, who joined them like enraged lions, increaſing as they ſwept along, and in their turn incircled their enemies. Their releaſe increaſed their joy and fury, and they rent the ſky with their ſounds. Their flaſhy enemies, now changed their boaſting tune, into "Oh morblieu!" and gave up all for loſt. Their red allies out-heel'd them, and left them to receive their juſt fate. They were all cut off but two, an officer, and a negroe who faithfully held his horſe till he mounted, and then ran along ſide of him. A couple of ſwift runners were ſent after them, who ſoon came up with them, and told them to live and go home and inform their people, that as the Chikkaſah hogs had now a plenty of ugly French carcaſes to feed on till next year, they hoped then to have another viſit from them and their red friends; and that, as meſſengers, they wiſhed them ſafe home. They accordingly returned with heavy hearts to the Chikkaſah landing place, N. W. on the Miſſiſippi, at the diſtance of 170 miles, where they took boat, and delivered their unexpected meſſage:—grief and trembling ſpread through the country,—and the inhabitants could not ſecure themſelves from the fury of theſe warlike, and enraged Chikkaſah. Every one of their priſoners was put to the fiery torture, without any poſſibility of redemption, their hearts were ſo exceedingly imbittered againſt them.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, many parties turned out againſt the French, and from time to time hunted them far and near:—ſome went to the Miſſiſippi, made a fleet of cypreſs-bark canoes, watched their trading boats, and cut off many of them without ſaving any of the people. The French finding it impracticable for a few boats to paſs thoſe red men of war, were obliged to go in a fleet, carry ſwivel-guns in their long pettiaugres, with plenty of men; but always ſhunning the Chikkaſah ſide of the river, and obſerving the ſtricteſt order in their movements by day, and in their ſtations at night. The walking of a wild beaſt, I have been aſſured, has frequently called them to their arms, and kept them awake for the whole night, they were in ſo great a dread of this warlike nation. The name of a Chikkaſah became as dreadful, as it was hateful to their ears. And had it not been more owing to French policy than bravery, in uniting all the Miſſiſippi and Canada-Indians in a confederacy and enmity againſt them, Louiſiana-ſettlements would have been long ſince, either entirely deſtroyed, or confined to garriſons.

When any of the French armies made a tolerable retreat, they thought themſelves very happy. Once, when the impreſſion was pretty much worn out of their minds, and wine inſpired them with new ſtratagems, and hopes of better ſucceſs, a great body of them, mixed with a multitude of ſavages, came to renew their attack. But as their hoſtile intentions were early diſcovered, the Chikkaſah had built a range of ſtrong ſtockade forts on ground which could not ſafely be approached, as the contiguous land was low, and chanced then to be wet. A number of the French and their allies drew near the weſtern fort, but in the manner of hornets, flying about to prevent their enemies from taking a true aim, while ſeveral ranks followed each other in a ſlow and ſolemn proceſſion, like white-robed, tall, midnight-ghoſts, and as if fearleſs, and impenetrable. The Indians did not at firſt know what ſort of animals they were, for ſeveral ſhots had been fired among them, without incommoding them, or retarding their direct courſe to the fort:—as they advanced nearer, the Chikkaſah kept a continual fire at them, with a ſure aim, according to their cuſtom; this was with as little ſucceſs as before, contrary to every attempt they had ever made before againſt their enemies. The warriors concluded them to be wizards, or old French-men carrying the ark of war againſt them. In their council, they were exceedingly perplexed: but juſt as they had concluded to oppoſe ſome of their own reputed prophets to deſtroy the power of thoſe cunning men, or powerful ſpirits of the French, lo! thoſe uncommon appearances ſpread themſelves in battle-array, along the ſouth-ſide of the fort, and threw hand-granadoes into the fort. Hoop Hoop Ha was now joyfully ſounded every where by the Chikkaſah, being convinced they had ſkin and bone to fight with, inſtead of ſpirits. The matches of the few ſhells the French had time to throw, were too long; and as our traders had joined their friends by this time, they pulled out ſome, and threw out other ſhells, as near to the enemy as they poſſibly could. They ſoon found thoſe dreadful phantoms were only common French-men, covered with wool-packs, which made their breaſts invulnerable to all their well-aimed bullets. They now turned out of the fort, fell on, fired at their legs, brought down many of them and ſcalped them, and drove the others with conſiderable loſs quite away to the ſouthern hills, where the trembling army had poſted themſelves out of danger. In the midſt of the night they decamped, and ſaved themſelves by a well-timed retreat, left the Chikkaſah triumphant, and inſpired them with the fierceneſs of ſo many tygers; which the French often fatally experienced, far and near, till the late ceſſion of Weſt-Florida to Great Britain. I have two of theſe ſhells, which I keep with veneration, as ſpeaking trophies over the boaſting Monſieurs, and their bloody ſchemes.

In the year 1748, the French ſent a party of their Indians to ſtorm ſome of the Chikkaſah traders' houſes. They accordingly came to my trading houſe firſt, as I lived in the frontier: finding it too dangerous to attempt to force it, they patted with their hands a conſiderable time on one of the doors, as a decoy, imitating the earneſt rap of the young women who go a viſiting that time of night. Finding their labour in vain, one of them lifted a billet of wood, and ſtruck the ſide of the houſe, where the women and children lay; ſo as to frighten them and awake me—my maſtiffs had been ſilenced with their veniſon. At laſt, the leader went a-head with the beloved ark, and pretending to be directed by the divine oracle, to watch another principal trader's houſe, they accordingly made for it, when a young woman, having occaſion to go out of the houſe, was ſhot with a bullet that entered behind one of her breaſts and through the other, ranging the bone; ſhe ſuddenly wheeled round, and tumbled down, within the threſhold of the houſe—the brave trader inſtantly bounded up, ſounding the war whoop, and in a moment graſped his gun, (for the traders beds are always hung round with various arms of defence) and reſcued her—the Indian phyſician alſo, by his ſkill in ſimples, ſoon cured her.

As ſo much hath been already ſaid of the Chikkaſah, in the accounts of the Cheerake, Muſkohge, and Choktah, with whoſe hiſtory, theirs was neceſſarily interwoven, my brevity here, I hope will be excuſed. —The Chikkaſah live in as happy a region, as any under the ſun. It is temperate; as cool in ſummer, as can be wiſhed, and but moderately cold in winter. There is froſt enough to purify the air, but not to chill the blood; and the ſnow does not lie four-and-twenty hours together. This extraordinary benefit, is not from its ſituation to the equator, for the Cheerake country, among the Apalahche mountains is colder, in a ſurpriſing degree; but from the nature and levelneſs of the extenſive circumjacent lands, which in general are very fertile. They have no running ſtream in their preſent ſettlement. In their old fields, they have banks of oyſter-ſhells, at the diſtance of four hundred miles from the ſea-ſhore; which is a viſible token of a general deluge, when it ſwept away the looſe earth from the mountains, by the force of a tempeſtuous north-eaſt wind, and thus produced the fertile lands of the Miſſiſippi, which probably was ſea, before that dreadful event.

As the Chikkaſah fought the French and their red allies, with the utmoſt firmneſs, in defence of their liberties and lands, to the very laſt, without regarding their decay, only as an incentive to revenge their loſſes; equity and gratitude ought to induce us to be kind to our ſteady old friends, and only purchaſe ſo much of their land, as they would diſpoſe of, for value. With proper management, they would prove extremely ſerviceable to a Britiſh colony, on the Miſſiſippi. I hope no future miſconduct will alienate their affections, after the manner of the ſuper-intendant's late deputy, which hath been already mentioned. The ſkilful French could never confide in the Choktah, and we may depend on being forced to hold hot diſputes with them, in the infant ſtate of the Miſſiſippi ſettlements: it is wiſdom to provide againſt the worſt events that can be reaſonably expected to happen. The remote inhabitants of our northern colonies are well acquainted with the great value of thoſe lands, from their obſervations on the ſpot. The ſoil and climate are fit for hemp, ſilk, indigo, wine, and many other valuable productions, which our merchants purchaſe from foreigners, ſometimes at a conſiderable diſadvantage—The range is ſo good for horſes, cattle, and hogs, that they would grow large, and multiply faſt, without the leaſt occaſion of feeding them in winter, or at leaſt for a long ſpace of time, by reaſon of the numberleſs branches of reeds and canes that are interſperſed, with nuts of various kinds. Rice, wheat, oats, barley, Indian corn, fruit-trees, and kitchen plants, would grow to admiration. As the ancients tell us, "Bacchus amat montes," ſo grape-vines muſt thrive extremely well on the hills of the Miſſiſippi, for they are ſo rich as to produce winter-canes, contrary to what is known at any diſtance to the northward. If Britiſh ſubjects could ſettle Weſt-Florida in ſecurity, it would in a few years become very valuable to Great-Britain: and they would ſoon have as much profit, as they could deſire, to reward their labour. Here, five hundred families would in all probability, be more beneficial to our mother-country, than the whole colony of North Carolina: beſides innumerable branches toward Ohio and Monongahela.

Enemies to the public good, may enter caveats againſt our ſettling where the navigation is precarious; and the extraordinary kindneſs of the late miniſtry to the French and Spaniards prevented our having an excluſive navigation on the Miſſiſippi. Aberville might ſtill become a valuable mart to us; and from New Orleans it is only three miles to Saint John's Creek, where people paſs through the lake of Saint Louis, and embark for Mobille and Penſacola. The Spaniards have wiſely taken the advantage of our miſconduct, by fortifying Louiſiana, and employing the French to conciliate the affections of the ſavages; while our legiſlators, fermented with the corrupt lees of falſe power, are ſtriving to whip us with ſcorpions. As all the Florida Indians are grown jealous of us, ſince we ſettled E. and W. Florida, and are unacquainted with the great power of the Spaniards in South America, and have the French to poliſh their rough Indian politics, Louiſiana is likely to prove more beneficial to them, than it did to the French. They are fortifying their Miſſiſippi ſettlements like a New Flanders, and their French artiſts, on account of our miniſterial lethargy, will have a good opportunity, if an European war ſhould commence, to continue our valuable weſtern barriers as wild and waſte, as the French left them. The warlike Chikkaſah proved ſo formidable to them, that, except a ſmall ſettlement above New Orleans, which was covered by the Choktah bounds, they did not attempt to make any other on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſippi, below the Illinois; though it contains ſuch a vaſt tract of fine land, as would be ſufficient for four colonies of two hundred and fifty miles ſquare. Had they been able by their united efforts, to have deſtroyed the Chikkaſah, they would not have been idle; for, in that caſe, the Choktah would have been ſoon ſwallowed up, by the aſſiſtance of their other allies, as they never ſupplied them with arms and ammunition, except thoſe who went to war againſt the Chikkaſah.

From North-Carolina to the Miſſiſippi, the land near the ſea, is, in general, low and ſandy; and it is very much ſo in the two colonies of Florida, to a conſiderable extent from the ſea-ſhore, when the lands appear fertile, level, and diverſified with hills. Trees indicate the goodneſs or badneſs of land. Pine-trees grow on ſandy, barren ground, which produces long coarſe graſs; the adjacent low lands abound with canes, reeds,

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or bay and laurel of various ſorts, which are ſhaded with large expanding trees — they compoſe an evergreen thicket, moſtly impenetrable to the beams of the ſun, where the horſes, deer, and cattle, chiefly feed during the winter: and the panthers, bears, wolves, wild cats, and foxes, reſort there, both for the ſake of prey, and a cover from the hunters. Lands of a looſe black ſoil, ſuch as thoſe of the Miſſiſippi, are covered with fine graſs and herbage, and well ſhaded with large and high trees of hiccory, aſh, white, red, and black oaks, great towering poplars, black walnut-trees, ſaſſafras, and vines. The low wet lands adjoining the rivers, chiefly yield cypreſs-trees, which are very large, and of a prodigious height. On the dry grounds is plenty of beach, maple, holly, the cotton-tree, with a prodigious variety of other ſorts. But we muſt not omit the black mulberry-tree, which, likewiſe, is plenty. It is high, and, if it had proper air and ſun-ſhine, the boughs would be very ſpreading. On the fruit, the bears and wild fowl feed during their ſeaſon; and alſo ſwarms of paroquets, enough to deafen one with their chattering, in the time of thoſe joyful repaſts. I believe the white mulberry-tree does not grow ſpontaneouſly in North-America. On the hills, there is plenty of cheſnut-trees, and cheſnut-oaks. Theſe yield the largeſt ſort of acorns, but wet weather ſoon ſpoils them. In winter, the deer and bears fatten themſelves on various kinds of nuts, which lie thick over the rich land, if the bloſſoms have not been blaſted by the north-eaſt winds. The wild turkeys live on the ſmall red acorns, and grow ſo fat in March, that they cannot fly farther than three or four hundred yards; and not being able ſoon to take the wing again, we ſpeedily run them down with our horſes and hunting maſtiffs. At many unfrequented places of the Miſſiſippi, they are ſo tame as to be ſhot with a piſtol, of which our troops profited, in their way to take poſſeſſion of the Illinois-garriſon. There is a plenty of wild parſley, on the banks of that river, the roots of which are as large as thoſe of parſnips, and it is as good as the other ſort. The Indians ſay, they have not ſeen it grow in any woods remote from their country. They have a large ſort of plums, which their anceſtors brought with them from South-America, and which are now become plenty among our colonies, called Chikkaſah plums.

To the North Weſt, the Miſſiſippi lands are covered with filberts, which are as ſweet, and thin-ſhelled, as the ſcaly bark hiccory-nuts.

Hazel-nuts are very plenty, but the Indians ſeldom eat them. Black haws grow here in cluſters, free from prickles: and piſſimmons, of which they make very pleaſant bread, barbicuing it in the woods. There is a ſort of fine plums in a few places, large, and well-taſted; and, if tranſplanted, they would become better. The honey-locuſts are pods about a ſpan-long, and almoſt two inches broad, containing a row of large ſeed on one ſide, and a tough ſweet ſubſtance the other. The tree is large, and full of long thorns; which forces the wild beaſts to wait till they fall off, before they can gather that part of their harveſt.—The trees grow in wet ſour land, and are plenty, and the timber is very durable. Where there is no pitch-pine, the Indians uſe this, or the ſaſſafras, for poſts to their houſes; as they laſt for generations, and the worms never take them. Chinquapins are very plenty, of the taſte of cheſnuts, but much leſs in ſize. There are ſeveral ſorts of very wholeſome and pleaſant-taſted ground nuts, which few of our coloniſts know any thing of. In wet land, there is an aromatic red ſpice, and a ſort of cinnamon, which the natives ſeldom uſe. The Yopon, or Caſſeena, is very plenty, as far as the ſalt air reaches over the low lands. It is well taſted, and very agreeable to thoſe who accuſtom themſelves to uſe it: inſtead of having any noxious quality, according to what many have experienced of the Eaſt-India inſipid and coſtly tea, it is friendly to the human ſyſtem, enters into a conteſt with the peccant humours, and expels them through the various channels of nature: it perfectly cures a tremor in the nerves. The North-American tea has a pleaſant aromatic taſte, and the very ſame ſalubrious property, as the Caſſeena. It is an evergreen, and grows on hills. The buſhes are about a foot high, each of them containing in winter a ſmall aromatic red berry, in the middle of the ſtalk: ſuch I ſaw it about Chriſtmas, when hunting among the mountains, oppoſite to the lower Mohawk Caſtle, in the time of a deep ſnow. There is no viſible decay of the leaf, and October ſeems to be the proper time to gather it. The early buds of ſaſſafras, and the leaves of ginſeng, make a moſt excellent tea, equally pleaſant to the taſte, and conducive to health. The Chineſe have ſenſe enough to ſell their enervating and ſlow-poiſoning teas, under various fine titles, while they themſelves prefer Ginſeng-leaves. Each of our colonies abounds with ginſeng, among the hills that lie far from the ſea. Ninety-ſix ſettlement, is the loweſt place where I have ſeen it grow in South Carolina. It is very plenty on the fertile parts of the Cheerake mountains; it reſembles Angelica, which in moſt places is alſo plenty. Its leaves are of a darker green, and about a foot and half from the root; the ſtalk ſends out three equal branches, in the center of which a ſmall berry grows, of a red colour, in Auguſt.—The ſeeds are a very ſtrong and agreeable aromatic: it is plenty in Weſt-Florida. The Indians uſe it on religious occaſions. It is a great loſs to a valuable branch of trade, that our people neither gather it in a proper ſeaſon, nor can cure it, ſo as to give it a clear ſhining colour, like the Chineſe tea. I preſume it does not turn out well to our American traders; for, up the Mohawk river, a gentleman who had purchaſed a large quantity of it, told me that a ſkippel, or three buſhels, coſt him only nine ſhillings of New York currency: and in Charles-Town, an inhabitant of the upper Yadkin ſettlements in North Carolina, who came down with me from viewing the Nahchee old fields on the Miſſiſippi, aſſured me he could not get from any of the South Carolina merchants, one ſhilling ſterling a pound for it, though his people brought it from the Alehgany, and Apalahche mountains, two hundred miles to Charles-Town.

It would be a ſervice, worthy of a public-ſpirited gentleman, to inform us how to preſerve the Ginſeng, ſo as to give it a proper colour; for could we once effect that, it muſt become a valuable branch of trade. It is an exceeding good ſtomachic, and greatly ſupports nature againſt hunger and thirſt. It is likewiſe beneficial againſt aſthmatic complaints, and it may be ſaid to promote fertility in women, as much as the Eaſt-India tea cauſes ſterility in proportion to the baneful uſe that is made of it. A learned phyſician and botaniſt aſſured me, that the eaſtern teas are ſlow, but ſure poiſon, in our American climates; and that he generally uſed the Ginſeng very ſucceſsfully in clyſters, to thoſe who had deſtroyed their health, by that dangerous habit. I adviſed my friend to write a treatiſe on its medical virtues, in the poſterior application, as it muſt redound much to the public good. He told me, it would be needleſs; for quacks could gain nothing from the beſt directions; and that already ſeveral of his acquaintance of the faculty moſtly purſued his practice in curing their patients. The eaſtern tea is as much inferior to our American teas, in its nouriſhing quality, as their album græcum is to our pure veniſon, from which we here ſometimes collect it; let us, therefore, like frugal and wiſe people, uſe our own valuable aromatic tea, and thus induce our Britiſh brethren to imitate our pleaſant and healthy regimen; ſhewing the utmoſt indifference to any duties the ſtateſmen of Great-Britain, in their aſſumed prerogative, may think proper to lay on their Eaſt-India poiſoning, and dear-bought teas.

The induſtry of the uncorrupt part of the Indians, in general, and of the Chikkaſah, in particular, extends no farther than to ſupport a plain ſimple life, and ſecure themſelves from the power of the enemy, and from hunger and cold. Indeed moſt of them are of late grown fond of the ornaments of life, of raiſing live ſtock, and uſing a greater induſtry than formerly, to increaſe wealth. This is to be aſcribed to their long intercourſe with us, and the familiar eaſy way in which our traders live with them, begetting imperceptibly an emulous ſpirit of imitation, according to the uſual progreſs of human life. Such a diſpoſition, is a great advance towards their being civilized; which, certainly muſt be effected, before we can reaſonably expect to be able to bring them to the true principles of chriſtianity. Inſtead of reforming the Indians, the monks and friars corrupted their morals: for, in the place of inculcating love, peace, and good-will to their red pupils, as became meſſengers of the divine author of peace, they only impreſſed their flexible minds with an implacable hatred againſt every Britiſh ſubject, without any diſtinction. Our people will ſoon diſcover the bad policy of the late Quebec act, and it is to be hoped that Great-Britain will in due time, ſend thoſe black croaking clerical frogs of Canada home to their infallible mufti of Rome.

I muſt here beg leave to be indulged, in a few obſervations on our own American miſſionaries. Many evils are produced by ſending out ignorant and wicked perſons as clergymen. Of the few I know,—two among them dare not venture on repeating but a few collects in the common prayer. A heathen could ſay, "if thou wouldſt have me weep, thou muſt firſt weep thyſelf:" and how is it poſſible we ſhould be able to make good impreſſions on others, unleſs they are firſt viſible on ourſelves? The very rudiments of learning, not to ſay of religion, are wanting in ſeveral of our miſſionary Evangeliſts; the beſt apology I have heard in their behalf, is, "an Engliſh nobleman aſked a certain biſhop, why he conferred holy orders on ſuch a parcel of arrant blockheads? He replied, becauſe it was better to have the ground plowed by aſſes, than leave it a waſte full of thiſtles."

It ſeems very ſurpriſing, that thoſe who are inveſted with a power of conferring eccleſiaſtical orders, ſhould be ſo careleſs in propagating the holy goſpel, and aſſiduous to prophane holy things, in appointing and ordaining illiterate and irreligious perſons to the ſervice. What is it? but ſaying, "go teach the American fools. My bleſſing is enough. Cheriſh confidence, and depend upon it, they will not have confidence to laugh at you: Leave the remote and poor ſettlements to the care of divine providence, which is diffuſive of its rich gifts. The harveſt is great elſewhere. Only endeavour to epiſcopize the northern colonies; it is enough: there they are numerous, and able to pay Peter's pence, as well as our old jewiſh, and new parliamentary tithes; and in time your labours will be crowned with ſucceſs."

That court however, which ſends abroad ſtupid embaſſadors to repreſent it, cannot be reaſonably expected to have ſucceſs, but rather ſhame and deriſion. What can we think at this diſtance, when we ſee the number of blind guides, our ſpiritual fathers at home have ſent to us, to lead us clear of the mazes of error? but, that they think of us with indifference, and are ſtudiouſly bent on their own temporal intereſt, inſtead of our ſpiritual welfare. There are thouſands of the Americans, who I believe have not heard ſix ſermons for the ſpace of above thirty years—and in fact they have more knowledge than the teachers who are ſent to them, and too much religion to communicate with them. And even the blinder ſort of the laity not finding truth ſufficiently ſupported by their purblind guides, grow proud of their own imaginary knowledge, and ſome thereby proudly commence teachers,—by which means they rend the church aſunder; and, inſtead of peace and love, they plant envy, contempt, hatred, revilings, and produce the works of the fleſh, inſtead of thoſe of the ſpirit.

Not ſo act the uncivilized Indians. Their ſuppoſed holy orders are obtained from a cloſe attention to, and approved knowledge of their ſacred myſteries. No temptations can corrupt their virtue on that head: neither will they convey their divine ſecrets to the known impure. This conduct is worthy to be copied, by all who pretend to any religion at all, and eſpecially by thoſe who are honoured with the pontifical dignity, and aſſume the name of "Right reverend, and Moſt reverend Fathers in God." I have been importunately requeſted at different times, by ſeveral eminent gentlemen

men, who wiſh well to both church and ſtate, to repreſent the evils reſulting from ſuch miſſionaries, in hope of redreſs; and on this occaſion, I thought it criminal to refuſe their virtuous requeſt. The repreſentation is true, and the writer is perſuaded he cannot give the leaſt offence by it, to any but the guilty.

My ſituation does not allow me, to fix the bounds our legiſlators claim on the Miſſiſippi: but I have good reaſon to believe that the fine court title which France, in her late dying will, has transferred to Great-Britain, moſtly conſiſts in ideal poſſeſſions ſhe never enjoyed. The monopolies already made, are equally unjuſt and pernicious. They, who take up valuable lands, eſpecially on ſuch a barrier, ought to ſettle them in a reaſonable time, or be prevented from keeping out induſtrious inhabitants, and cauſing the place to continue in a defenceleſs condition. Before we can ſettle the Miſſiſippi, with any reaſonable view of ſucceſs, the government muſt build ſufficient places of ſtrength, both to make the colony appear reſpectable in the eyes of the Indians, and guard it from the evil eye of the Spaniards, who are watching at New Orleans, and over the river, to impede our intereſts, in that valuable but dangerous quarter. It might become an impenetrable barrier, if proper encouragement was given to the laborious and hardy inhabitants of our northern ſettlements, on the various branches of the Ohio, and in the back ſettlements of North Carolina, who are now almoſt uſeleſs to the community. As Great-Britain would be the chief gainer by their removal, ſhe ought to encourage them to remove. Great numbers of them were preparing to come down, even in the years 1768 and 1769; but finding too many inconveniencies and hazards in their way, they declined the attempt. As it is natural for every colony to endeavour to increaſe its number of induſtrious inhabitants, it cannot be expected, even if the mother country behaved more prudently than of late, that any of them would exert themſelves much on ſuch an occaſion, as to raiſe dangerous rivals in their own ſtaple commodity—However rice, indigo, ſilk, hemp, wine, and many other valuable productions are ſuitable to ſo fine a ſoil and climate; beſides great quantities of beef, pork, and every kind of uſeful timber for Jamaica, which is contiguous to the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. So great an acquiſition of raw materials would ſoon prove very beneficial to Great-Britain, as well as a great ſafe-guard to the beſt part of our other colonies, and a very needful check to Spaniſh inſolence. Such a material undertaking, as the colonizing of ſo important a barrier, deſerves public encouragement to put it in a fair way of doing well; and the continuance of a ſupply, and protection through its infant ſtate, to ſecure it from any artful attempts the Spaniards and their French ſubjects might plot to diſturb its tranquility, and thereby check its growth.

There might be introduced even among the Indian nations I have deſcribed, a ſpirit of induſtry, in cultivating ſuch productions as would agree with their land and climates; eſpecially, if the ſuper-intendency of our Indian affairs, weſtward, was conferred on the ſenſible, public-ſpirited, and judicious Mr. George Galphin, merchant, or Lachlan M'Gilwray, Eſq; of equal merit. Every Indian trader knows from long experience, that both theſe gentlemen have a greater influence over the dangerous Muſkohge, than any others beſides. And the ſecurity of Georgia requires one or other of them ſpeedily to ſuperintend our Indian affairs. It was, chiefly, the ſkilful management of theſe worthy patriots, which prevented the Muſkohge from joining the Cheerake, according to treaty, againſt us in the years 1760 and 1761,—to their great expence and hazard of life, as they allowed thoſe ſavages to eat, drink, and ſleep at Silver-Bluff, below New Windſor garriſon, and at Auguſta fifteen miles apart, and about 150 miles from Savanah. I write from my own knowledge, for I was then on the ſpot, with a captain's commiſſion from South Carolina. A Muſkohge war againſt us, could eaſily be prevented by either of thoſe gentlemen, if choſen, and the deſtructive plan of general licences was repealed. It is to be hoped, that they who are inveſted with the power, will retract their former error, and have the pleaſure of knowing the good effect it would produce, by giving an opportunity of civilizing and reforming the ſavages; which can never be effected by the former uſual means. Admit into Indian countries, a ſufficient number of diſcreet orderly traders.—This needful regulation will likewiſe benefit trade, which is almoſt ruined; and our valuable weak frontier colonies would thereby increaſe in numbers, proportionable to their ſecurity.

Formerly, each trader had a licence for two towns, or villages; but according to the preſent unwiſe plan, two, and even three Arab-like pedlars ſculk about in one of thoſe villages. Several of them alſo frequently emigrate into the woods with ſpirituous liquors, and cheating trifles, after the Indian hunting camps, in the winter ſeaſon, to the great injury of a regular trader, who ſupplies them with all the conveniencies of hunting: for, as they will ſell even their wearing ſhirt for inebriating liquors, they muſt be ſupplied anew in the fall of the year, by the trader. At my firſt ſetting out among them, a number of traders who lived contiguous to each other, joined through our various nations in different companies, and were generally men of worth: of courſe, they would have a living price for their goods, which they carried on horſeback to the remote Indian countries, at very great expences. Theſe ſet an honeſt copy for the imitation of the natives, for as they had much at ſtake, their own intereſt and that of the government co-incided. As the trade was in this wiſe manner kept up to its juſt ſtandard, the ſavages were induſtrious and frugal. But, lowering it, through a miſtaken notion of regaining their affections, we made ourſelves too cheap to them, and they deſpiſed us for it. The trade ought to be raiſed to a reaſonable fixed price, the firſt convenient opportunity—thus we ſhall keep them employed, and ourſelves ſecure. Should we lower the trade, even fifty per cent below the prime coſt, they would become only the more diſcontented, by thinking we had cheated them all the years paſt. A mean ſubmiſſive temper can never manage our Indian affairs. The qualities of a kind friend, ſenſible ſpeaker, and active briſk warrior, muſt conſtitute the character of a ſuperintendant. Great care ought to be taken, not to give the Indians offence, or a mean opinion of the people or government our Indian ſuperintendants repreſent.

At a general congreſs in Mobille, Anno 1765, where were preſent his Excellency the learned, cheerful, patriotic Governor of Weſt-Florida, George Johnſtone Eſquire, the preſent ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, and the head-men and warriors of the Choktah, and warlike Chikkaſah nations, a tariff of trade was ſettled on every material article, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner, moſtly according to the Muſkohge ſtandard, and to the great ſatisfaction of the Indians. The price for which the corrupt and ſhamefully-indulged vagrant pedlars forced the traders at the riſque of their lives, to traffic with them, being then about 70 per cent. below the French tariff in Indian trade up the Miſſiſippi. Each of theſe traders took out Indian trading licences, to which the fixed prices of various goods were annext, thereby impowering them to traffic during the ſpace of a twelvemonth; and they gave penal bonds of ſecurity to the

ſecretary,

ſecretrary, for the juſt obſervance of their inſtructions. This proved however, through a bare-faced partiality, only a ſhameful farce on œconomy and good order. His Excellency, and the honourable Col. W—n, were ſo ſtrongly convinced of my former integrity, that in order to teſtify publicly their approbation of my good conduct, they did me the honour to paſs ſecurity in the ſecretary's office, for my dealing with the Indians in ſtrict conformity to the laws of trade. As I loſt in the ſpace of a year, to the amount of two and twenty hundred dollars-worth of goods at prime coſt, by the diſorderly conduct of other licenſed traders, and had juſt reaſon to hope for redreſs on exhibiting a well-ſupported complaint; I drew up on my own account, and at the importunate requeſt of the Chikkaſah head-men, a memorial, ſetting forth their having notoriouſly violated every eſſential part of their inſtructions, enticing the Indians alſo to get drunk, and then taught them to blaſpheme their maker. This I proved, and that ſome of the lawleſs traders had furniſhed the Indians, in the ſpace of a few months, with ſo great a quantity of prohibited liquors, as either did, or might enable ſome of them to decoy the ſavages to ſquander away thouſands of dreſt deer-ſkins, — but they eſcaped with impunity.

A few months before this period, ſome family diſputes roſe very high between the Chikkaſah, on the following account. The Indians being ambitious, free, and jealous of their liberties, as well as independent of each other, where mutual conſent is not obtained; one half of the nation were exceedingly diſpleaſed with the other, becauſe, by the reiterated perſuaſions of a certain deputy, the latter had diſpoſed of a tract of land, twelve miles toward the ſouth, on the upper trading Choktah, or Mobille path, to one of thoſe diſorderly traders. By the application of the deputy, the head-men of both parties met him according to appointment, and partook of a plentiful barbicued feaſt, with plenty of ſpirituous liquors. As ſuch conduct was againſt his majeſty's proclamation, and appeared to me to be calculated, either for a clandeſtine trade, or family-job, I rejected the invitation, leſt otherwiſe I might be charged as a party. When they became intoxicated with liquor, a war-leader of the diſſenting party, ſtruck his tomohawk at the head of a noted chieftain, upbraiding him for bringing a ſtrange fire into their land; but happily the blow miſſed its aim. Their diſputes conſequently roſe higher every day; and the diſſidents diffidents informed the Muſkohge of their then ſituation, and future intentions. *Yah-Yah-Tuſtanage*, " the Great Mortar," a bitter enemy of the Engliſh, ſoon ſent up a company of his war-relations, to perſuade them to guard in time, againſt our dangerous encroachments, by killing all the Engliſh, that planted their lands without the general conſent of the owners, and to take their black people as a good prize; becauſe they were building and planting for the reception of an Engliſh garriſon, which was to come from the Miſſiſippi, and be the firſt means of enſlaving them. While their tranſport of madneſs laſted, it was fruitleſs to reaſon with them; but at every convenient opportunity, I uſed ſuch plain, friendly, and perſuaſive arguments to ſooth them, as I imagined might regain their loſt affections, and procraſtinate the dangerous impending blow. They conſented at laſt to forbear every kind of reſentment againſt our late ſuſpicious conduct, on condition of my writing to thoſe who could redreſs them, and our people ſpeedily withdrawing from their land the intruding planters. This I did; and at Mobille I delivered my remonſtrance to the ſuperintendant. Upon my urging the abſolute neceſſity of pacifying our old ſteady friends, by removing the ungenerous cauſe of their jealouſy, he aſſured me, that he would gladly comply with ſo juſt a requeſt, eſpecially, as it exactly coincided with his majeſty's proclamation, then fixed on the fort-gate.

In the ſpace of about ten days after, by order of Governor Johnſtone, all the Chikkaſah and Choktah traders were cited to appear before him and the ſuperintendant, in order to know the merit of, and anſwer to, my numerous complaints. When they appeared, and every thing was properly adjuſted, his ſecretary read paragraph by paragraph, and his excellency, very minutely examined all the reputable traders, who confirmed to his full ſatisfaction, the truth of every thing in my complaint. But tho' the memorial ſet forth, among other inſtances, that " but a few minutes after I had once a troubleſome diſpute with the abovementioned Chikkaſah leader, on account of the traders prohibited and poiſoning liquors, he went home diſtracted, and finding none but his aged mother, he would have killed her with his tomohawk, only for her earneſt entreaties, and then ſudden eſcape,"—yet none of thoſe diſorderly people were either ſuſpended from trading with the Indians, or forfeited the penalty of their bonds—neither was the Indians requeſt complied with. Though, I believe, the termination was to the no ſmall mortification of his excellency.

Anno 1767, the ſuper-intendant's deputy convened all the Chikkaſah traders and head-men of the nation, declaring that he had received poſitive orders from the ſuperior over Indian affairs, to bring the trade to the late ſtandard of the Muſkohge. The head-men replied, that if their traders, or the ſuper-intendant acted unwiſely, they were not bound to follow the copy. We urged, that he had already exceedingly lowered the Miſſiſippi-Indian trade, and had, at the Mobille congreſs, fixed a Tariff, a copy of which every one of us had, as well as a regular licence, having given approved ſecurity for our peaceable conduct, and fair dealing with the Indians, for the ſpace of a year: and that beſides the wrong policy of ſuch an edict, as he now propoſed, if we proved rogues to our own intereſt with them, we ought to be arreſted as fools below. We concluded, by obſerving the great diſadvantage of navigation that Mobille lay under, to which Charles-town was no way expoſed in imports and exports; and that if the aforeſaid Indian trade ſhould, by any act be reduced below its preſent ſtandard, it muſt neceſſarily ceaſe of itſelf, unleſs as free-men, we ſaid No to the command. Which the traders did, and reſolved to ſupport it.

The deputies treatment of Capt. J. C—l—b—rt, who has lived among the Chikkaſah from his childhood, and ſpeaks their language even with more propriety than the Engliſh, deſerves to be recorded—but I hope the gentleman will ſoon do it himſelf, to ſhew the higher powers the conſequences of appointing improper, mercenary, and haughty perſons to ſuch offices. Sir William Johnſon acted very differently—he was kind, intelligent, intrepid—he knew when to frown and when to ſmile on the Indian nations he was connected with, and blended the ſerpent with the dove. He choſe his deputies or repreſentatives in the Indian countries, according to their qualifications in the Indian life; and not unſkilful men, and mere ſtrangers, like ſome who have been obtruded into our ſouthern nations. His prudent and brave deputy Col. Craghan, did our chain of colonies more real ſervice in a few months, than all our late ſouthern commiſſioners of Indian affairs could poſſibly have done in ages. In the dangerous time of our ſettling the Illinois-garriſon, 500 leagues up the Miſſiſippi, he went from Johnſon's Hall, in the lower part of the Mohawk country, and from thence courſed through the various nations of Indians, to the head-branches of Canada; and in like manner, down thoſe of the Miſſiſippi, to the garriſon, amidſt the greateſt dangers; pleaſing and reconciling the ſavages as he proceeded.

The Chikkaſah firſt informed me of his journey and ſucceſs—and I had it ſome time after, circumſtantially confirmed to me by Sir W. Johnſon. When I ſpoke to the Col. himſelf on his fatigues and perils, he modeſtly replied "that while he was performing the needful duties of his office, and acting the part of a beloved man with the ſwan's wing, white pipe, and white beads, for the general good of his country, and of its red neighbours, he had no leiſure to think of any perſonal dangers that might befall a well-meaning peace-maker." Having reconciled the Kuſkuſke Indians, whom the French garriſon had decoyed by their falſe painting of us, to remove with them over the Miſſiſippi,—he from thence proceeded down by water to New Orleans; afterwards, along the gulph-ſtream of Mexico, to the place from whence he ſet off, amounting nearly to 5000 miles, in the oblique courſe he was forced to take.

In brief, able ſuperintendants of Indian affairs, and who will often viſit the Indians, are the ſafeſt and ſtrongeſt barrier garriſons of our colonies—and a proper number of prudent honeſt traders diſperſed among the ſavages would be better than all the ſoldiers, which the colonies ſupport for their defence againſt them. The Indians are to be perſuaded by friendly language; but nothing will terrify them to ſubmit to what oppoſes their general idea of liberty. In the diſputes between governors, ſuperintendants, their deputies, and the traders, care ſhould be taken to keep them very ſecret from the Indians,—for they love ſuch traders as are governed by principle, and are eaſily influenced by them. Several agents of governors and ſuperintendants have experienced this, when diſpatched into their countries to ſeize either the goods or perſons of one and another trader, who was obnoxious by not putting the neck under their lordly feet. Some have hardly eſcaped from being tomohawked and cut to pieces on the ſpot by the enraged Indians, for the violence offered to their friendly traders.—When an Indian and trader contract friendſhip, they exchange the clothes then upon them, and afterwards they cheriſh it by mutual preſents, and in general, will maintain it to the death. As early as 1736 the Georgia governor began to harraſs the licenſed traders, and ſent a commiſſioner to ſeize the goods of ſeveral Carolinian traders: in executing his commiſſion, he was ſoon encircled by twenty-three Indians, and would have been inſtantly diſpatched, but for the interceſſion of one of the ſuffering traders, Mr. J. G—r of Tennaſe. When a governor of any of our colonies, is either weak in his intellects, or has ſelf-intereſted purſuits in view, incompatible with the public good, he will firſt oppreſs the Indian traders, and miſrepreſent all under his government who oppoſe him; and then adopt and purſue the low and tyrannical court maxim "divide, and you will ſubdue and rule them." Whether the animoſities that ſubſiſted among the inhabitants of Georgia, when Mr. Ellis went to preſide there, ſprung from any ſuch cauſe, I will not ſay, but I well know that by his wiſdom, cheerful and even temper, and an eaſy winning behaviour, he ſoon reconciled the contending parties in his gay and friendly hall.

The grateful and polite in that colony, have taught their riſing families to revere his name, on account of his generous and patriotic ſpirit. He inſtructed the inhabitants of that infant colony, by example, how to fortify themſelves againſt hoſtile dangers. The people were few, weak, harraſſed, and diſheartened: but as ſoon as the father and general put to his helping hand, their drooping ſpirits recovered. Then, defenſible garriſons ſprung up, after the manner of ancient Thebes; but as he knew that peace with the numerous nations of neighbouring Indians was eſſential to the welfare of a trading colony, he acted the part of the Archimagus, or great beloved man, with the ſwan's wing, white pipes, and tobacco, between the miſchievous Muſkohge and our colonies, at Savanah, in concert with the two worthy gentlemen before-mentioned. At that time our Indian affairs in general wore a moſt dangerous aſpect—and the public ſtock was expended:—when the governor ſaw that he could not ſhake hands with the Indians, empty handed, he cheerfully ſupplied their diſcontented head-men with his own effects, and even his domeſtic utenſils. They ſet a high value on each gift, chiefly for the ſake of the giver, whom they adopted as brother, friend, father. He gave the colony a ſtrong example of public ſpirit, by ſacrificing his eaſe, and private intereſt, to the welfare of the people; whom he faithfully patronized (during his too ſhort ſtay) according to the paternal intentions of his late Majeſty. He was never ordered by his Prince to inform the legiſlative body of the colony, that, if the electors petitioned his majeſty for the liberty of chuſing repreſentatives, he, through his own grace and goodneſs, would order his governor to inform them he was pleaſed to indulge them in the object of their ſubmiſſive prayer. But had it been otherwiſe, Mr. Ellis would have deemed ſuch a miniſterial order, a groſs attack upon his honour, if not on the conſtitutional rights of Britiſh ſubjects, and have rejected it with contempt. When a gentleman of abilities employs his talents, in his proper ſphere, in promoting the general good of ſociety (inſtead of forwarding only his own intereſt) he is both an honour and a bleſſing to the community: the grateful public always revere ſuch a character, and fail not to hand it down to the lateſt poſterity, to ſtimulate others to follow the example. Such was Mr. Ellis in Georgia; and ſuch was the learned, wiſe, polite, affable, and now much lamented Sir Henry Moore Bart. the late governor of New-York colony. His virtues ſo ſtrongly endeared him to thoſe he governed, and to every one who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance, that his memory will never be forgotten. He came to his government at the moſt confuſed time America ever knew. He found the ſenior member of the council ſtrongly barricaded in the fort,—but preſently he ordered away the cannon, and put a ſtop to other hoſtile preparations. He converſed with the people as a father. They were ſoon convinced of his upright intentions, and he lived triumphant in their hearts. If ſtrict integrity, great abilities, and the moſt ardent deſires and endeavours to promote the mutual intereſts of prince and people,—if the moſt impartial adminiſtration of juſtice to every denomination of faithful ſubjects—if indefatigable application to public buſineſs, and a cheerfulneſs to redreſs every grievance that had the leaſt tendency to affect the lives or property even of the meaneſt perſon: if theſe be the characteriſtics of one of the beſt of governors, our hearts feelingly teſtify, and the tears of a grateful people plainly ſhewed, he enjoyed them in the moſt eminent degree. His ſtay, however, among them was but ſhort, for having given a finiſhed copy for others to purſue, heaven called him home to reward him for his ſhining virtues: and, though the other worthy patriot is in being, yet the honeſt ſons of Georgia deeply lament his being loſt to them.

GENERAL

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS;

DISPLAYING

Their love to their country—Their martial ſpirit—Their caution in war—Method of fighting—Barbarity to their captives—Inſtances of their fortitude and magnanimity in the view of death—Their rewards of public ſervices—The manner of crowning their warriors after victory—Their games—Method of fiſhing, and of building—Their utenſils and manufactures—Conduct in domeſtic life—Their laws, form of government, &c. &c.

GENERAL

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

IN the following pages, the reader will find as great a variety of entertainment, as can well be expected in deſcribing a rude and uncivilized people. The Indians having for a long time no intercourſe with the reſt of the world, and ſeldom one nation of them with another, their rites and cuſtoms are in ſeveral reſpects different. But as they agree in eſſentials through the whole extent of the American world, ſuch agreement is apparently owing to tradition, and the uſage of their anceſtors, before they were ſubdivided as at preſent. Uniformity cannot be attributed to chance.

Through the whole continent, and in the remoteſt woods, are traces of their ancient warlike diſpoſition. We frequently met with great mounds of earth, either of a circular, or oblong form, having a ſtrong breaſt-work at a diſtance around them, made of the clay which had been dug up in forming the ditch, on the inner ſide of the incloſed ground, and theſe were their forts of ſecurity againſt an enemy. Three or four of them, are in ſome places raiſed ſo near to each other, as evidently for the garriſon to take any enemy that paſſed between them. They were moſtly built in low lands;

and ſome are overſpread with large trees, beyond the reach of Indian tradition. About 12 miles from the upper northern parts of the Choktah country, there ſtand on a level tract of land, the north-ſide of a creek, and within arrow-ſhot of it, two oblong mounds of earth, which were old garriſons, in an equal direction with each other, and about two arrow-ſhots apart. A broad deep ditch incloſed thoſe two fortreſſes, and there they raiſed an high breaſt-work, to ſecure their houſes from the invading enemy. This was a ſtupendous piece of work, for ſo ſmall a number of ſavages, as could ſupport themſelves in it; their working inſtruments being only of ſtone and wood. They called thoſe old fortreſſes *Nanne Yah*, "the hills, or mounts of God."

Probably, different parties, and even nations, were formed at firſt, either by caprice, differences, or the fear of puniſhment for offences. The demon of perſecution however was never among them—not an individual durſt ever preſume to infringe on another's liberties. They are all equal—the only precedence any gain is by ſuperior virtue, oratory, or prowefs; and they eſteem themſelves bound to live and die in defence of their country. A warrior will accept of no hire for performing virtuous and heroic actions; they have exquiſite pleaſure in purſuing their own natural dictates. The head-men reward the worthy with titles of honour, according to their merit in ſpeaking, or the number of enemies ſcalps they bring home. Their hearts are fully ſatisfied, if they have revenged crying blood, enobled themſelves by war actions, given cheerfulneſs to their mourning country, and fired the breaſts of the youth with a ſpirit of emulation to guard the beloved people from danger, and revenge the wrongs of their country. Warriors are to protect all, but not to moleſt or injure the meaneſt. If they attempted it, they would pay dear for their folly. The reaſon they are more earneſt than the reſt of mankind, in maintaining that divine law of equal freedom and juſtice, I apprehend, is the notion imbibed from their (ſuppoſed) Hebrew anceſtors of the divine theocracy, and that inexpreſſible abhorrence of ſlavery, which muſt have taken place after their captivity by the Aſſyrians, or the Babylonians.

Every warrior holds his honour, and the love of his country, in ſo high eſteem, that he prefers it to life, and will ſuffer the moſt exquiſite tortures rather than renounce it: there is no ſuch thing among the Indians as deſertion in war, becauſe they do not fight like the Swiſs for hire, but for wreaths of ſwan-feathers. If the Engliſh acted on that noble principle, or were encouraged by an able, public-ſpirited miniſtry, to cheriſh it, Britannia need neither ſue, nor pay any of the German princes for protection, or alliances.

The equality among the Indians, and the juſt rewards they always confer on merit, are the great and leading — the only motives that warm their hearts with a ſtrong and permanent love to their country. Governed by the plain and honeſt law of nature, their whole conſtitution breathes nothing but liberty: and, when there is that equality of condition, manners, and privileges, and a conſtant familiarity in ſociety, as prevails in every Indian nation, and through all our Britiſh colonies, there glows ſuch a chearfulneſs and warmth of courage in each of their breaſts, as cannot be deſcribed. It were to be wiſhed, that our military and naval officers of all ranks, inſtead of their uſual harſh and imperious behaviour, would act the part of mild and good-natured patrons to thoſe under them: kind, perſuaſive language has an irreſiſtible force, and never fails to overcome the manly and generous heart, and love is ſtrong as death. If the governed are convinced that their ſuperiors have a real affection for them, they will eſteem it their duty and intereſt to ſerve them and take pleaſure in it. The late gallant Lord Howe, General Wolfe, and Admiral Warren, are ſtill alive in the grateful hearts of the Americans, and alſo of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who fought under them. No ſervice was too difficult to oblige them, and they were aſhamed to do any thing amiſs. If every Britiſh officer ſet the like example, there would be little occaſion for new mutiny acts, and other ſuch like penal regulations. We have frequent inſtances in America, that merely by the power of affability, and good-natured language, the ſavage Indian, drunk and foaming with rage and madneſs, can be overcome and brought to weep. Lately, ſome came among us, inflamed and diſtracted foes; we perſuaded them of our conſtant kindly intentions, and they repented, made atonement in regard to themſelves, and checked the mad conduct of others.

The Indians are not fond of waging war with each other, unleſs prompted by ſome of the traders: when left to themſelves, they conſider with the greateſt exactneſs and foreſight, all the attending circumſtances of war. Should any of the young warriors through forwardneſs, or paſſion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggreſſing party uſually ſend by ſome neutral Indians, a friendly embaſſy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendſhip, aſſuring them that the raſh unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation. If the propoſal be accepted, the damage is made up, either by ſacrificing one of the aggreſſors, of a weak family, or by the death of ſome unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a waſted tribe. If a perſon of note was killed, the offended party take immediate ſatisfaction of their own accord, and ſend back the like embaſſy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's ſpirit is allowed to go to reſt, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendſhip clear of ruſt, according to the old beloved ſpeech: but, if they are determined for war, they ſay *Mattle, Mattle*, "it is finiſhed, they are weighed, and found light." In that caſe, they proceed in the following manner.

A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by conſent of the whole nation, declares to be ſuch: he then beats a drum three times round his winter houſe, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large ſtrokes of black,—the grand war ſignal of blood and death. On this, a ſufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered perſon, immediately arm themſelves, and each gets a ſmall bag of parched corn-flour, for his war-ſtores. They then go to the aforeſaid winter houſe, and there drink a warm decoction of their ſuppoſed holy conſecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, ſometimes without any other refreſhment. This is to induce the deity to guard and proſper them, amidſt their impending dangers. In the moſt promiſing appearance of things, they are not to take the leaſt nouriſhment of food, nor ſo much as to ſit down, during that time of ſanctifying themſelves, till after ſunſet. While on their expedition, they are not allowed to lean themſelves againſt a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a ſharp day's march; nor muſt they lie by, a whole day to refreſh themſelves, or kill and barbicue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their ſucceſs againſt the enemy, by the bountiful ſmiles of the deity. To gain that favourite point, ſome of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, leſt they ſhould prove irreligious, and prophane the holy faſt, and bring misfortunes on the out-ſtanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days obſerved one of their religious faſts, but under the greateſt ſuſpicion of his virtue in this reſpect, though he had often headed them againſt the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the ſanctified ground, without a truſty guard, leſt hunger ſhould have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raiſed the burning wrath of the holy fire againſt the whole camp. Other particulars of this ſacred proceſs for war, have been related in their proper place.*

When they have finiſhed their faſt and purifications, they ſet off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping, and hallooing, as they march. The war-leader goes firſt, carrying the ſuppoſed holy ark: he ſoon ſtrikes up the awful and ſolemn ſong before mentioned, which they never ſing except on that occaſion. The reſt follow, in one line, at the diſtance of three or four ſteps from each other, now and then ſounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's ſong the more ſtriking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the ſight, and hearing of their friends. As ſoon as they enter the woods, all are ſilent; and, every day they obſerve a profound ſilence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their ſmall black eyes are almoſt as ſharp alſo as thoſe of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they reſemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promiſe them good ſucceſs; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the ſuppoſed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the leaſt cenſure. They reckon that their readineſs to ſerve their country, ſhould not be ſubſervient to their own knowledge or wiſhes, but always regulated by the divine impulſe. I have known a whole company who ſet out for war, to return in ſmall parties, and ſometimes by ſingle perſons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; becauſe they acted in obedience to their *Nana Iſhtohoollo*, "or guardian angels," who impreſſed them in the viſions of night, with the friendly caution. As their dreams are reckoned ominous, ſo there is a ſmall uncommon bird, called the "kind ill meſſenger," which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it ſings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and ſings over the war-camp, they ſpeedily break up. This ſuperſtitious cuſtom prevailed with the early heathens, who pretended to propheſy by the flight of birds, and it reached even down to the time of the Romans.

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* Vide p. 143 &c.

Every war captain chuſes a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called *Etiſſú*, or "the waiter." Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abſtemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer ſkin, yet they are ſo bigoted to their religious cuſtoms in war, that none, though prompted by ſharp hunger or burning thirſt, dares relieve himſelf. They are contented with ſuch trifling allowance as the religious waiter diſtributes to them, even with a ſcanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever ſo dangerous.

When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no ſcrip, nor bottle, nor ſtaff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and uſed to ſheer off now and then to drink, while they ſuffered greatly by thirſt. The conſtancy of the ſavages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is aſtoniſhing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient cuſtom, the leaning againſt a tree, either ſitting or ſtanding: nor are they allowed to ſit in the day-time, under the ſhade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on ſuch rocks, ſtones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war reſts upon. By the attention they invariably pay to thoſe ſevere rules of living, they weaken themſelves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitleſs to endeavour to diſſuade them from thoſe things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and a ſafe return home.

It may be expected I ſhould deſcribe the number of men their war companies conſiſt of, but it is various, and uncertain: ſometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiouſly, and ſtrike their prey as panthers. In the year 1747, a couple of the Mohawk Indians came againſt the lower towns of the Cheerake, and ſo cunningly ambuſcaded them through moſt part of the ſpring and ſummer, as to kill above twenty in different attacks, before they were diſcovered by any party of the enraged and dejected people. They had a thorough knowledge of the moſt convenient ground for their purpoſe, and were extremely ſwift and long winded—whenever they killed any, and got the ſcalp, they made off to the neighbouring mountains, and ran over the broad ledges of rocks, in contrary courſes, as occaſion offered, ſo as the purſuers could by no means trace them. Once, when a large company was in chace of them, they ran round a ſteep hill at the head of the main eaſtern branch of Savana river, intercepted, killed, and ſcalped the hindmoſt of the party, and then made off between them and Keeowhee: as this was the town to which the company belonged, they haſtened home in a cloſe body, as the proper place of ſecurity from ſuch enemy wizards. In this manner, did thoſe two ſprightly gallant ſavages perplex and intimidate their foes for the ſpace of four moons, in the greateſt ſecurity; though they often were forced to kill and barbicue what they chiefly lived upon, in the midſt of their watchful enemies. Having ſufficiently revenged their relations' blood, and gratified their own ambition with an uncommon number of ſcalps, they reſolved to captivate one, and run home with him, as a proof of their having killed none but the enemies of their country. Accordingly, they approached very near to Keeowhee, about half-a-mile below the late Fort Prince George, advancing with the uſual caution on ſuch an occaſion—one crawled along under the beſt cover of the place, about the diſtance of an hundred yards a-head, while the other ſhifted from tree to tree, looking ſharply every way. In the evening, however, an old beloved man diſcovered them from the top of an adjoining hill, and knew them to be enemies, by the cut of their hair, light trim for running, and their poſtures; he returned to the town, and called firſt at the houſe of one of our traders, and informed him of the affair, enjoining him not to mention it to any, leſt the people ſhould ſet off againſt them without ſucceſs, before their tracks were to be diſcovered, and he be charged with having deceived them. But, contrary to the true policy of traders among unforgiving ſavages, that thoughtleſs member of the Choktah Sphynx-company buſied himſelf as uſual out of his proper ſphere, ſent for the head-men, and told them the ſtory. As the Mohawks were our allies, and not known to moleſt any of the traders in the paths and woods, he ought to have obſerved a ſtrict neutrality. The youth of the town, by order of their head-men, carried on their noiſy public diverſions in their uſual manner, to prevent their foes from having any ſuſpicion of their danger, while runners were ſent from the town to their neighbours, to come ſilently and aſſiſt them to ſecure the prey, in its ſtate of ſecurity. They came like ſilent ghoſts, concerted their plan of operation, paſſed over the river at the old trading ford, oppoſite to the late Fort, which lay between two contiguous commanding hills, and proceeding downward over a broad creek, formed a large ſemi-circle from the river bank, while the town ſeemed to be taking its uſual reſt. They then cloſed into a narrower compaſs, and at laſt diſcovered the two brave unfortunate men lying cloſe under the tops of ſome fallen young pine-trees. The company gave the war ſignal, and the Mohawks bounding up, bravely repeated it: but, by their ſudden ſpring from under thick cover, their arms were uſeleſs; they made deſperate efforts however to kill or be killed, as their ſituation required. One of the Cheerake, the noted half breed of Iſtanare town, which lay two miles from thence, was at the firſt onſet, knocked down and almoſt killed with his own cutlaſs, which was wreſted from him, though he was the ſtrongeſt of the whole nation. But they were overpowered by numbers, captivated, and put to the moſt exquiſite tortures of fire, amidſt a prodigious crowd of exulting foes.

One of the preſent Choktah traders who was on the ſpot, told me, that when they were tied to the ſtake, the younger of the two diſcovering our traders on a hill pretty near, addreſſed them in Engliſh, and entreated them to redeem their lives. The elder immediately ſpoke to him, in his own language, to deſiſt—on this, he recollected himſelf, and became compoſed like a ſtoic, manifeſting an indifference to life or death, pleaſure or pain, according to their ſtandard of martial virtue; and their dying behaviour did not reflect the leaſt diſhonour on their former gallant actions. All the pangs of fiery torture ſerved only to refine their manly ſpirits: and as it was out of the power of the traders to redeem them, they according to our uſual cuſtom retired, as ſoon as the Indians began the diabolical tragedy.

The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, leſt their tracks ſhould be diſcovered by being too numerous:

but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuſes to out-number a common company, that they may ſtrike the blow with greater ſafety and ſucceſs, as their art of war is chiefly killing by ſurpriſe; confident that in caſe of a diſappointment, their light heels will enſure their return to their own country. When a ſmall company go to war, they always chuſe to have a ſwamp along ſide of them, with a thick covert for their ſhelter, becauſe a ſuperior number will ſcarcely purſue them where they might reaſonably expect to loſe any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greateſt caution and policy. They ſeparate themſelves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling ſignal, which is the mimicking ſuch birds and beaſts as frequent the ſpot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and ſound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they uſually keep an hundred yards apart on the courſe agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the ſureſt way of ſucceeding againſt the enemy, he ſends a few of the beſt runners to form an ambuſcade near their towns: there, they ſometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of theſe beaſts with the greateſt art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and ſagacious, I have known ſuch arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows, by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet ſo high, as not to beat down the graſs or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the ſteps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby ſmooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in purſuit of them, at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from the country, as for themſelves not to be over-powered by numbers, they poſt themſelves in the moſt convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in ſuch a caſe, the victory at one broad-ſide is uſually gained.

When they diſcover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is ſurpriſing to ſee the caution and art they uſe, both to ſecure themſelves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a ſmall company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and ſwamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to diſcover the ſmoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they croſs through the open woods, one of them ſtands behind a tree, till the reſt advance about a hundred yards, looking out ſharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping every where around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique courſe, till they inſwamp themſelves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a purſuit. As we can gain nothing by blows, with ſuch warriors, it is certainly our intereſt, as a trading people, to uſe proper meaſures to conciliate their affections; for whether we are conquerors, or conquered, we are always great loſers in an Indian war.

When the invaders extend themſelves croſs the woods, in queſt of their prey, if they make a plain diſcovery, either of freſh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately paſs the war-ſignal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they ſurround, and ſurpriſe the purſued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in ſuch attempts; for the Indians generally are ſo extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their firſt object is a proper place for defence, and they always ſit down in a triangle, to prevent a ſurpriſe. When enemies diſcover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themſelves known to each other; and by way of inſulting bravado, they ſpeak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed againſt them;—that they are now, to vindicate thoſe actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their moſt bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendſhip and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, ſtrip themſelves naked, and paint their faces and breaſts red as blood, intermingled with black ſtreaks. Every one at the ſignal of the ſhrill-ſounding war-cry, inſtantly covers himſelf behind a tree, or in ſome cavity of the ground where it admits of the beſt ſafety. The leader, on each ſide, immediately blows the ſmall whiſtle he carries for the occaſion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the laſt ſignal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the ſtrong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the ſure-ſhafted javelin ſtriking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or diſabling its enemy. Nothing ſcarcely can be heard for the ſhrill echoing noiſe of the war and death-whoop, every one furiouſly purſues his adverſary from tree to tree, ſtriving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all ſides, to ſwallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party deſperately attempts both to ſave their dead and wounded from being ſcalped, and to gain the ſcalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But raſh attempts fail, as their wary ſpirits always forbid them from entering into a general cloſe engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, ſtill having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately ſpring off in an oblique courſe to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itſelf.

The vanquiſhed party makes for a ſwampy thicket, as their only aſylum: but ſhould any of them be either unarmed, or ſlightly wounded, the ſpeedy purſuers captivate them, and uſually reſerve them for a worſe death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and ſlaſh thoſe unfortunate perſons, who fell by their arms and power; and they diſmember them, after a moſt inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead perſon, another that, as joyful trophies of a deciſive victory. If a ſtranger ſaw them thus loaded with human fleſh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious canibals, according to the ſhameful accounts of our Spaniſh hiſtorians. Their firſt aim however is to take off the ſcalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper ſituation, and ſtrength to make a dangerous reſiſtance. Each of them is ſo emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently ſtops them in their purſuit.

This honourable ſervice is thus performed—They ſeize the head of the diſabled, or dead perſon, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twiſted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artiſts ſpeedily draw their long ſharp-pointed ſcalping knife out of a ſheath from their breaſt, give a ſlaſh round the top of the ſkull, and with a few dexterous ſcoops, ſoon ſtrip it off.

They are ſo expeditious as to take off a ſcalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as ſoon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's ſinews, their ſpeaking trophies of blood in a ſmall hoop, to preſerve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the ſcalp, and the hoop, all round with red, their flouriſhing emblematical colour of blood.

They are now ſatiated for the preſent, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impreſſion on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a ſtate of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by ſhedding human blood, they haſten to obſerve the faſt of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be ſanctified by the war-chieftain, as a prieſt of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent againſt the warlike Chikkaſah, I have known the laſt ſometimes to hazard their martial virtue and ſucceſs, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excuſed themſelves, by the neceſſity of ſelf-defence. They have no ſuch phraſe as the "fortune of war." They reckon the leader's impurity to be the chief occaſion of bad ſucceſs; and if he loſe ſeveral of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the ſuppoſed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whiſtle, and martial titles, and debaſing him to his boy's name, from which he is to riſe by a freſh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good meaſure, to make them ſo exceedingly cautious and averſe to bold attempts in war, and they are uſually ſatisfied with two or three ſcalps and a priſoner.

It has been long too feelingly known, that inſtead of obſerving the generous and hoſpitable part of the laws of war, and ſaving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the moſt agonizing tortures. No repreſentation can poſſibly be given, ſo ſhocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted priſoner; and as it is ſo contrary to the ſtandard of the reſt of the known world, I ſhall relate the circumſtances, ſo far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not ſucceeded, or any of their warriors are loſt, they return quite ſilent; but if they are all ſafe, and have ſucceeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and inſulting their priſoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large ſquare plot of ground, marked for the purpoſe, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they ſecure their priſoners. Next day they go to the leader's houſe in a very ſolemn proceſſion, but ſtay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their priſoners. If any one of the captives ſhould be fortunate enough to get looſe, and run into the houſe of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient cuſtom, is ſaved from the fiery torture—theſe places being a ſure aſylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, becauſe they came to ſhed blood.

Thoſe captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they ſpilt, by the tortures of fire.—They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breaſts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the ſoot of pitch-pine, which ſticks to the inſide of a greaſed earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the ſkin with gair-fiſh-teeth, and rub over them that dark compoſition, to regiſter them among the brave; and the impreſſion is laſting. I have been told by the Chikkaſah, that they formerly erazed any falſe marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themſelves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being ſurrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by ſtretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impreſſion.

The young priſoners are ſaved, if not devoted while the company were ſanctifying themſelves for their expedition; but if the latter be the caſe, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful ſtake, one at a time. The victors firſt ſtrip their miſerable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-ſkin maccaſeenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others faſten with a grape-vine, a burning fire-brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed ſeals of their death-warrant. Their puniſhment is always left to the women; and on account of their falſe ſtandard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire ſatisfaction of the greedy eyes of the ſpectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the ſtake, the women and their young ones beat them with theſe in a moſt barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miſerable creatures, if their ſufferings ended here, or a merciful tomohawk finiſhed them at one ſtroke; but this ſhameful treatment is a prelude to future ſufferings.

The death-ſignal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are faſt pinioned, and a ſtrong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix ſome tough clay on his head, to ſecure the ſcalp from the blazing torches. Unſpeakable pleaſure now fills the exulting crowd of ſpectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and mercileſs executioners—The ſuffering warrior however is not diſmayed; with an inſulting manly voice he ſings the war-ſong! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itſelf. The women make a furious on-ſet with their burning torches: his pain is ſoon ſo excruciating, that he ruſhes out from the pole, with the fury of the moſt ſavage beaſt of prey, and with the vine ſweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greateſt deſpite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the ſame, or freſh perſons: they attack him on every ſide—now he runs to the pole for ſhelter, but the flames purſue him. Then with champing teeth, and ſparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afreſh, and acts every part, that the higheſt courage, moſt raging fury, and blackeſt deſpair can prompt him to. But he is ſure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after ſome time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of reſpite, till his ſpirits recover, and he is capable of ſuffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes inſenſible of pain. Now they ſcalp him, in the manner before deſcribed: diſmember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis) in ſhameful, and ſavage triumph. This is the moſt favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too ſhocking to humanity either to give, or peruſe, every particular of their conduct in ſuch doleful tragedies—nothing can equal theſe ſcenes, but thoſe of the merciful Romiſh inquiſition.

Not a ſoul, of whatever age or ſex, manifeſts the leaſt pity during the priſoner's tortures: the women ſing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter reſound through the crowded theatre—eſpecially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold auſtere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, deſcribing his own martial deeds againſt them, and thoſe of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himſelf had often done to ſome of their relations at their coſt.

Though the ſame things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of ſenſations; yet weakneſs, or conſtancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great meaſure, either to heighten, or leſſen the ſenſe of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to ſtifle nature, and ſhew an outward unconcern, under ſuch ſlow and acute tortures: and the ſurpriſing cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and cuſtom. Similar inſtances verify this, as in Liſbon, and other places, where tender-hearted ladies are transformed by their bloody prieſts, into ſo many Medeas, through deluded religious principles; and ſit and ſee with the higheſt joy, the martyrs of God, drawn along in diabolical triumph to the fiery ſtake, and ſuffering death with lingering tortures.

I cannot forbear giving another inſtance or two here of the conſtancy, viſible unconcern, and preſence of mind, of the Indians, at the approach of death, in its moſt alarming dreſs and terrors.

About four years before the Shawano Indians were forced to remove from the late Savanah town, they took a Muſkohge warrior, known by the name of "Old Scrany;" they baſtinadoed him in the uſual manner, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal, without ſhewing any concern; his countenance and behaviour were as if he ſuffered not the leaſt pain, and was formed beyond the common laws of nature. He told them, with a bold voice, that he was a very noted warrior, and gained moſt of his martial preferment at the expence of their nation, and was deſirous of ſhewing them in the act of dying, that he was ſtill as much their ſuperior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen againſt them.—That although he had fallen into their hands, in forfeiting the protection of the divine power, by ſome impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war againſt his devoted enemies; yet he had ſtill ſo much remaining virtue, as would enable him to puniſh himſelf more exquiſitely than all their deſpicable ignorant crowd could poſſibly do, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and would hand to him one of the red hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The propoſal, and his method of addreſs, appeared ſo exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his requeſt was granted. Then he ſuddenly ſeized one end of the red barrel, and brandiſhing it from ſide to ſide, he forced his way through the armed and ſurpriſed multitude, and leaped down a prodigious ſteep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a ſmall iſland, and paſſed the other branch, amidſt a ſhower of bullets from the commanding ground where Fort-Moore, or New Windſor-garriſon ſtood; and though numbers of his eager enemies were in cloſe purſuit of him, he got to a bramble ſwamp, and in that naked, mangled condition, reached his own country. He proved a ſharp thorn in their ſide afterwards to the day of his death.

The Shawano alſo captivated a warrior of the Anantooeah, and put him to the ſtake, according to their uſual cruel ſolemnities. Having unconcernedly ſuffered much ſharp torture, he told them with ſcorn, they did not know how to puniſh a noted enemy, therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his aſſertion, if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requeſted of them a pipe and ſome tobacco, which was given him: as ſoon as he lighted it, he ſat down, naked as he was, on the women's burning torches, that were within his circle, and continued ſmoking his pipe without the leaſt diſcompoſure—on this a head-warrior leaped up, and ſaid, they had ſeen plain enough, that he was a warrior, and not afraid of dying; nor ſhould he have died, only that he was both ſpoiled by the fire, and devoted to it by their laws: however, though he was a very dangerous enemy, and his nation a treacherous people, it ſhould appear they paid a regard to bravery, even in one, who was marked over the body with war ſtreaks, at the coſt of many lives of their beloved kindred. And then by way of favour, he, with his friendly tomohawk, inſtantly put an end to all his pains:—though the merciful but bloody inſtrument was ready ſome minutes before it gave the blow, yet I was aſſured, the ſpectators could not perceive the ſufferer to change, either his poſture, or his ſteady erect countenance, in the leaſt.

A party of the Senekah Indians came to war againſt the Katahba, bitter enemies to each other. In the woods, the former diſcovered a ſprightly warrior belonging to the latter, hunting in their uſual light dreſs; on his perceiving them, he ſprung off for a hollow rock, four or five miles diſtant, as they intercepted him from running homeward. He was ſo extremely ſwift, and ſkilful with the gun, as to kill ſeven of them in the running fight, before they were able to ſurround and take him. They carried him to their country in ſad triumph: but, though he had filled them with uncommon grief and ſhame, for the loſs of ſo many of their kindred, yet the love of martial virtue induced them to treat him, during their long journey, with a great deal more civility, than if he had acted the part of a coward. The women and children, when they met him at their ſeveral towns, beat and whipped him in as ſevere a manner as the occaſion required, according to their law of juſtice, and at laſt he was formally condemned to die by the fiery tortures. It might reaſonably be imagined that what he had for ſome time gone through, by being fed with a ſcanty hand, a tedious march, lying at night on the bare ground, expoſed to the changes of the weather, with his arms and legs extended in a pair of rough ſtocks, and ſuffering ſuch puniſhments on his entering into their hoſtile towns, as a prelude to thoſe ſharp torments for which he was deſtined, would have ſo impaired his health, and affected his imagination, as to have ſent him to his long ſleep out of the way of any more ſufferings. Probably, this would have been the caſe with the major part of white people, under ſimilar circumſtances; but I never knew this with any of the Indians: and this cool-headed brave warrior did not deviate from their rough leſſons of martial virtue, but acted his part ſo well, as to ſurpriſe and ſorely vex his numerous enemies. For, when they were taking him unpinioned, in their wild parade, to the place of torture, which lay near to a river, he ſuddenly daſhed down thoſe who ſtood in his way, ſprung off, and plunged into the water, ſwimming underneath like an otter, only riſing to take breath till he made the oppoſite ſhore. He now aſcended the ſteep bank; but though he had good reaſon to be in a hurry, as many of the enemy were in the water, and others running every way, like blood-hounds, in purſuit of him, and the bullets flying around him, from the time he took to the river, yet his heart did not allow him to leave them abruptly, without taking leave in a formal manner, in return for the extraordinary favours they had done, and intended to do him. He firſt turned his backſide toward them, and ſlapped it with his hand; then moving round, he put up the ſhrill war whoo whoop, as his laſt ſalute, till ſome more convenient opportunity offered, and darted off in the manner of a beaſt broke looſe from its torturing enemies. He continued his ſpeed ſo as to run by about midnight of the ſame day, as far as his eager purſuers were two days in reaching. There he reſted, till he happily diſcovered five of thoſe Indians, who had purſued him—he lay hid a little way off their camp, till they were found aſleep. Every circumſtance of his ſituation occurred to him, and inſpired him with heroiſm. He was naked, torn, and hungry, and his enraged enemies were come up with him. But there was now every thing to relieve his wants, and a fair opportunity to ſave his life, and get great honour, and ſweet revenge, by cutting them off. Reſolution, a convenient ſpot, and ſudden ſurprize, would effect the main object of all his wiſhes and hopes. He accordingly creeped towards them, took one of their tomohawks, and killed them all on the ſpot. He then chopped them to pieces, in as horrid a manner, as ſavage fury could excite, both through national and perſonal reſentment,—he ſtripped off their ſcalps, clothed himſelf, took a choice gun, and as much ammunition and proviſions as he could well carry in a running march. He ſet off afreſh with a light heart, and did not ſleep for ſeveral ſucceſſive nights, only when he reclined as uſual a little before day, with his back to a tree. As it were by inſtinct, when he found he was free from the purſuing enemy, he made directly to the very place where he had killed ſeven of his enemies, and was taken by them for the fiery torture.

He digged them up, ſcalped them, burned their bodies to aſhes, and went home in ſafety with ſingular triumph. Other purſuing enemies came on the evening of the ſecond day to the camp of their dead people, when the ſight gave them a greater ſhock, than they had ever known before. In their chilled war council, they concluded, that, as he had done ſuch ſurpriſing things in his defence, before he was captivated, and ſince that, in his naked condition, and was now well armed, if they continued the purſuit, he would ſpoil them all, for he ſurely was an enemy wizard. And therefore they returned home.

When the Chikkaſah were engaged in a former war with the Muſkohge, one of their young warriors ſet off alone againſt them, to revenge the blood of a near relation : his burning heart would not allow him to delay its gratification, and proceed with a company, after their uſual forms of purification were obſerved, in order to gain ſucceſs. He was replete with martial fire, and revenge prompted him to outrun his war virtue : however, he purſued as mortifying a regimen, as if he had been publicly fed like a dove, by the ſcanty hand of a religious waiter. But, as he would not wait a few days, and accompany the reputed holy ark, they reckoned him irreligious, by depending on the power of his own arms, inſtead of the powerful arm of the ſupreme fatherly chieftain, *Yo He Wah*, who always beſtows victory on the more virtuous party. He went through the moſt unfrequented and thick parts of the woods, as ſuch a dangerous enterpriſe required, till he arrived oppoſite to the great, and old beloved town of refuge, Koōſah, which ſtands high on the eaſtern ſide of a bold river, about 250 yards broad, that runs by the late dangerous Alebahma fort, down to the black poiſoning Mobille, and ſo into the gulph of Mexico. There he concealed himſelf under cover of the top of a fallen pine tree, in view of the ford of the old trading path, where the enemy now and then paſſed the river in their light poplar canoes. All his war ſtore of proviſions conſiſted in three ſtands of barbicued veniſon, till he had an opportunity to revenge blood, and return home. He waited, with watchfulneſs and patience almoſt three days, when a young man, a woman, and a girl paſſed a little wide of him, about an hour before ſunſet. The former he ſhot down, tomohawked the other two, and ſcalped each of them in a trice, in full view of the town. By way of bravado, he ſhaked the ſcalps before them, ſounded the awful death whoop, and ſet off along the trading path, truſting to his heels, while a great many of the enemy ran to their arms, and gave chace. Seven miles from thence, he entered the great blue ridge of Apalahche mountains. About an hour before day, he had ran over ſeventy miles of that mountainous tract;—then, after ſleeping two hours in a ſitting poſture, leaning his back againſt a tree, he ſet off again with freſh ſpeed. As he threw away his veniſon, when he found himſelf purſued by the enemy, he was obliged to ſupport nature with ſuch herbs, roots, and nuts, as his ſharp eyes with a running glance, directed him to ſnatch up in his courſe. Though I often have rode that war path alone, when delay might have proved dangerous, and with as fine and ſtrong horſes as any in America, it took me five days to ride from the aforeſaid Kooſah, to this ſprightly warrior's place in the Chikkaſah country, the diſtance of 300 computed miles; yet he ran it, and got home ſafe and well, at about eleven o'clock of the third day; which was only one day and half, and two nights.

Theſe two well known inſtances of the young Katahba, and this Chikkaſah warrior, evince the ſurpriſing and ſuperior abilities of the Indians in their own element. And the intrepid behaviour of the two other red ſtoics, their ſurpriſing contempt of, and indifference to life or death, inſtead of leſſening, helps to confirm our belief of that ſupernatural power, which ſupported the great number of primitive martyrs, who ſealed the chriſtian faith with their blood. The Indians, as I obſerved in the former part, have as much belief, and expectation of a future ſtate, as the greater part of the Iſraelites ſeem to have poſſeſſed. But the chriſtians of the firſt centuries, may juſtly be ſaid to exceed even the moſt heroic American Indians; for they bore the bittereſt perſecution, with ſteady patience, in imitation of their divine leader, Meſſiah, in full confidence of divine ſupport, and of a glorious recompence of reward; and, inſtead of even wiſhing for revenge on their cruel enemies and malicious tormentors (which is the chief principle that actuates the Indians) they not only forgave them, but in the midſt of their tortures, earneſtly prayed for them, with compoſed countenances, ſincere love, and unabated fervor. And not only men of different conditions, but the delicate women and children ſuffered with conſtancy, and died praying for their tormentors: the Indian women and children, and their young men untrained to war, are incapable of diſplaying the like patience and magnanimity.

When the Indians have finiſhed their captive tragedies, they return to the neighbouring town in triumph, with the wild ſhrieking noiſe of deſtroying demons: there, they cut the ſcalps into ſeveral pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houſes of their deceaſed relations—whoſe deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they eſteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghoſts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of reſt, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleaſed them beſt, when in their former ſtate. They perform this ſuppoſed religious duty with great ſolemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with ſoft voices, their grateful ſong of triumph to *Yo He Wah*; while the favoured warriors echo their praiſes of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine preſence, for their victory; and the happineſs of ſending the ſpirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houſes which they haunted, mourning with ſuch painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the ſuffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they repreſent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to ſurpriſe the enemy, and their wolfiſh conduct in killing with ſafety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by ſurpriſe. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down ſlowly on tip-toe in a bent poſture, looking ſharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the ſuppoſed enemy be either defeated by ſtratagem, or open battle. Then they ſtrut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have ruſhed on with his eyes ſhut, improvident of danger; but having wiſely conſidered that his bare breaſt was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himſelf from tree to tree, and by his ſkilful conduct vanquiſhed the hateful enemy, without expoſing his own valuable life to danger. All people praiſe, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or diſparity it bears to their own ſtandard, and notion of virtue.

In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot ſleep ſound or eaſy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wiſhed for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in ſpring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody colours are diſplayed, and moſt of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the preſent ſucceſs of their nation, and the ſafe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-ſkin maccaſeenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young ſoftened otter-ſkin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine ſwan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various ſtreaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a ſtanding poſture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expreſſion, chiefly commending their ſtrict obſervance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the ſupreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the reſt to continue to thirſt after glory, in imitation of their brave anceſtors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the concluſion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the ſcepter, or wand. He then gladly anſwers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the reſt of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this ſtrong caution, "Remember what you are (ſuch a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved ſpeech." This is equal to the bold virtuous leſſons of the honeſt Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of their honourable ſtation, that they ſhould always aſpire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itſelf. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a ſwan, at the lower end, where it ſurrounds his temples, and it is curiouſly weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it ſit eaſy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the ſkilful artiſt warps cloſe together, a ringlet of the longeſt feathers of the ſwan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform poſition, he, in the exacteſt manner, ties them together with deer's ſinews, ſo as the bandage will not appear to the ſharpeſt eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they uſe in conſtituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which cauſes them to be three or four inches higher than the former. This latter cuſtom bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the uſage of the ancients on ſimilar occaſions, according to the conſtitution of their different forms of government.

They are exceedingly pointed againſt our methods of war, and conferring of titles. By the ſurpriſing conduct of a Georgia governor, both the Muſkohge and Cheerake, who attended our army in the war before the laſt, againſt St. Auguſtine, have entertained, and will continue to have the meaneſt opinion of the Carolina martial diſpoſition, till by ſome notable brave actions, it wears off. The Indians concluded that there was treachery in our letting priſoners of diſtinction return to the fort to put the reſt on their guard, and in our ſhutting up the batteries for four or five days ſucceſſively, not having our cannon diſmounted, nor annoying the enemy, but having flags of truce frequently paſſing and repaſſing. They ſaid, that it was plain to their eyes, we only managed a ſham-fight with the Spaniards—and they became very uneaſy, and held many conferences about our friendly intercourſe with the garriſon; concluding that we had decoyed them down to be ſlaughtered, or delivered to the Spaniard to purchaſe a firm peace for ourſelves—and they no ſooner reached their own countries, than they reported the whole affair in black colours, that we allured them to a far-diſtant place, where we gave them only a ſmall quantity of bad food; and that they were obliged to drink ſaltiſh water, which, inſtead of allaying, inflamed their thirſt, while we were carouſing with various liquors, and ſhaking hands with the Spaniard, and ſending the white beloved ſpeech to one another, by beat of drum, although we had the aſſurance to affirm that we held faſt the bloody tomohawk. The minuteſt circumſtance was ſo ſtrongly repreſented, that both nations were on the very point of commencing war againſt us. But the "Raven" of Euwaſe, a leading head warrior of the Cheerake, was confined in Auguſta garriſon, till he ſent up runners to ſtop a war, that his ſpeeches and meſſages had nearly fomented—his life was threatened on failure, and he had large promiſes given, if he complied and ſucceeded.

The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often ſtake every thing they poſſeſs. Ball-playing is their chief and moſt favourite game: and is ſuch ſevere exerciſe, as to ſhew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themſelves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of ſcraped deer-ſkin, moiſtened, and ſtuffed hard with deer's hair, and ſtrongly ſewed with deer's ſinews.—The ball-ſticks are about two feet long, the lower end ſomewhat reſembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-ſkin thongs. Between theſe, they catch the ball, and throw it a great diſtance, when not prevented by ſome of the oppoſite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but ſlanting a conſiderable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over theſe, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is caſt back, and played for as uſual. The gameſters are equal in number on each ſide; and, at the beginning of every courſe of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catched the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly ſends it the right courſe, by an artful ſharp twirl. They are ſo exceedingly expert in this manly exerciſe, that, between the goals, the ball is moſtly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing ſticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how ſwiftly they fly, when cloſely chaſed by a nimble footed purſuer; when they are intercepted by one of the oppoſite party, his fear of being cut by the ball ſticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagoniſt ſometimes runs up behind, and by a ſudden ſtroke daſhes down the ball. It is a very unuſual thing to ſee them act ſpitefully in any ſort of game, not even in this ſevere and tempting exerciſe.

Once, indeed, I ſaw ſome break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a deſcent, and running at full ſpeed. But I afterward underſtood, there was a family diſpute of long continuance between them: that might have raiſed their ſpleen, as much as the high bets they had then at ſtake, which was almoſt all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the ſlighteſt and moſt hazardous occaſions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

By education, precept, and cuſtom, as well as ſtrong example, they have learned to ſhew an external acquieſcence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a ſcandal to the character of a ſteady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they ſay, ſhould prevent it. Their conduct is equal to their belief of the power of thoſe principles: previous to this ſharp exerciſe of ball playing, notwithſtanding the irreligion of the Choktah in other reſpects, they will ſupplicate *Yo He Wah*, to bleſs them with ſucceſs. To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play againſt, they mortify themſelves in a ſurpriſing manner; and, except a ſmall intermiſſion, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their ſhrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah* to be favourable to their kindred party on the morrow. The men faſt and wake from ſunſet, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they are to forbear ſleeping under the penalty of reproaches and ſhame; which would ſit very ſharp upon them, if their party chanced to loſe the game, as it would be aſcribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's priſoners were all broke looſe: when that enthuſiaſtic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by ſaying *Yah*, ſhort; then *Yo* long, which the reſt of the train repeat with a ſhort accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with ſuch acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occaſions. Each party are deſirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they eſteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of ſummer, they uſe this ſevere exerciſe, a ſtranger would wonder to ſee them hold it ſo long at full ſpeed, and under the ſcorching ſun, hungry alſo, and faint with the exceſſive uſe of ſuch ſharp phyſic as the button ſnake root, the want of natural reſt, and of every kind of nouriſhment. But their conſtancy, which they gain by cuſtom, and their love of virtue, as the ſure means of ſucceſs, enable them to perform all their exerciſes, without failing in the leaſt, be they ever ſo ſevere in the purſuit.

The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke*; which, with propriety of language, may be called "Running hard labour." They

have

have near their ſtate houſe, a ſquare piece of ground well cleaned, and fine ſand is carefully ſtrewed over it, when requiſite, to promote a ſwifter motion to what they throw along the ſurface. Only one, or two on a ſide, play at this ancient game. They have a ſtone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two ſpans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, ſmooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They ſet off a-breaſt of each other at ſix yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the ſtone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a conſiderable diſtance toward the middle of the other end of the ſquare: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can gueſs in proportion to the motion of the ſtone, that the end may lie cloſe to the ſtone —when this is the caſe, the perſon counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearneſs of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unleſs by meaſuring, both are found to be at an equal diſtance from the ſtone. In this manner, the players will keep running moſt part of the day, at half ſpeed, under the violent heat of the ſun, ſtaking their ſilver ornaments, their noſe, finger, and ear rings; their breaſt, arm, and wriſt plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a taſk of ſtupid drudgery: it ſeems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers uſed diverſions as ſimple as their manners. The hurling ſtones they uſe at preſent, were time immemorial rubbed ſmooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the ſtricteſt religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are uſed, and are carefully preſerved.

Their manner of rambling through the woods to kill deer, is a very laborious exerciſe, as they frequently walk twenty-five or thirty miles through rough and ſmooth grounds, and faſting, before they return back to camp, loaded. Their method of fiſhing may be placed among their diverſions, but this is of the profitable kind. When they ſee large fiſh near the ſurface of the water, they fire directly upon them, ſometimes only with powder, which noiſe and ſurprize however ſo ſtupifies them, that they inſtantly turn up their bellies and float a top, when the fiſherman ſecures them. If they ſhoot at fiſh not deep in the water, either with an arrow or bullet, they aim at the lower part of the belly, if they are near; and lower, in like manner, according to the diſtance, which ſeldom fails of killing. In a dry ſummer ſeaſon, they gather horſe cheſnuts, and different ſorts of roots, which having pounded pretty fine, and ſteeped a while in a trough, they ſcatter this mixture over the ſurface of a middle-ſized pond, and ſtir it about with poles, till the water is ſufficiently impregnated with the intoxicating bittern. The fiſh are ſoon inebriated, and make to the ſurface of the water, with their bellies uppermoſt. The fiſhers gather them in baſkets, and barbicue the largeſt, covering them carefully over at night to preſerve them from the ſuppoſed putrifying influence of the moon. It ſeems, that fiſh catched in this manner, are not poiſoned, but only ſtupified; for they prove very wholeſome food to us, who frequently uſe them. By experiments, when they are ſpeedily moved into good water, they revive in a few minutes.

The Indians have the art of catching fiſh in long crails, made with canes and hiccory ſplinters, tapering to a point. They lay theſe at a fall of water, where ſtones are placed in two ſloping lines from each bank, till they meet together in the middle of the rapid ſtream, where the intangled fiſh are ſoon drowned. Above ſuch a place, I have known them to faſten a wreath of long grape vines together, to reach acroſs the river, with ſtones faſtened at proper diſtances to rake the bottom; they will ſwim a mile with it whooping, and plunging all the way, driving the fiſh before them into their large cane pots. With this draught, which is a verv heavy one, they make a town feaſt, or feaſt of love, of which every one partakes in the moſt ſocial manner, and afterward they dance together, ſinging *Halelu-yah*, and the reſt of their uſual praiſes to the divine eſſence, for his bountiful gifts to the beloved people. Thoſe Indians who are unacquainted with the uſe of barbed irons, are very expert in ſtriking large fiſh out of their canoes, with long ſharp pointed green canes, which are well bearded, and hardened in the fire. In Savanah river, I have often accompanied them in killing ſturgeons with thoſe green ſwamp harpoons, and which they did with much pleaſure and eaſe; for, when we diſcovered the fiſh, we ſoon thruſt into their bodies one of the harpoons. As the fiſh would immediately ſtrike deep, and ruſh away to the bottom very rapidly, their ſtrength was ſoon expended, by their violent ſtruggles againſt the buoyant force of the green darts: as ſoon as the top end of them appeared again on the ſurface of the water, we made up to them, renewed the attack, and in like manner continued it, till we ſecured our game.

They have a ſurpriſing method of fiſhing under the edges of rocks, that ſtand over deep places of a river. There, they pull off their red breeches, or their long ſlip of Stroud cloth, and wrapping it round their arm, ſo as to reach to the lower part of the palm of their right hand, they dive under the rock where the large cat-fiſh lie to ſhelter themſelves from the ſcorching beams of the ſun, and to watch for prey: as ſoon as thoſe fierce aquatic animals ſee that tempting bait, they immediately ſeize it with the greateſt violence, in order to ſwallow it. Then is the time for the diver to improve the favourable opportunity: he accordingly opens his hand, ſeizes the voracious fiſh by his tender parts, hath a ſharp ſtruggle with it againſt the crevices of the rock, and at laſt brings it ſafe aſhore. Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the ſtate of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments neceſſity has forced them to, it ſeems as if few were endued with ſuch ſtrong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild ſituation of life.

There is a favourite method among them of fiſhing with hand-nets. The nets are about three feet deep, and of the ſame diameter at the opening, made of hemp, and knotted after the uſual manner of our nets. On each ſide of the mouth, they tie very ſecurely a ſtrong elaſtic green cane, to which the ends are faſtened. Prepared with theſe, the warriors a-breaſt, jump in at the end of a long pond, ſwimming under water, with their net ſtretched open with both hands, and the canes in a horizontal poſition. In this manner, they will continue, either till their breath is expended by the want of reſpiration, or till the net is ſo ponderous as to force them to exonerate it aſhore, or in a baſket, fixt in a proper place for that purpoſe—by removing one hand, the canes inſtantly ſpring together. I have been engaged half a day at a time, with the old-friendly Chikkaſah, and half drowned in the diverſion—when any of us was ſo unfortunate as to catch water-ſnakes in our ſweep, and emptied them aſhore, we had the ranting voice of our friendly poſſe comitatus, whooping againſt us, till another party was ſo unlucky as to meet with the like misfortune. During this exerciſe, the women are fiſhing aſhore with coarſe baſkets, to catch the fiſh that eſcape our nets. At the end of our friendly diverſion, we cheerfully return home, and in an innocent and friendly manner, eat together, ſtudiouſly diverting each other, on the incidents of the day, and make a cheerful night.

The Indians formerly had ſtone axes, which in form commonly reſembled a ſmith's chiſel. Each weighed from one to two, or three pounds weight—They were made of a flinty kind of ſtone: I have ſeen ſeveral, which chanced to eſcape being buried with their owners, and were carefully preſerved by the old people, as reſpectable remains of antiquity. They twiſted two or three tough hiccory ſlips, of about two feet long, round the notched head of the axe; and by means of this ſimple and obvious invention, they deadened the trees by cutting through the bark, and burned them, when they either fell by decay, or became thoroughly dry. With theſe trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguiſh even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a ſtorm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill conſequences attending ſo criminal an act. I never ſaw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twiſted grape-vine, as a threatening ſymbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinſman dies. In the laſt caſe, a father or brother of the deceaſed, takes a fire-brand, and brandiſhing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it ſink down.

By the aforeſaid difficult method of deadening the trees, and clearing the woods, the contented natives got convenient fields in proceſs of time. And their tradition ſays they did not live ſtraggling in the American woods, as do the Arabians, and rambling Tartars; for they made houſes with the branches and bark of trees, for the ſummer-ſeaſon; and warm mud-walls, mixt with ſoft dry graſs, againſt the bleak winter, according to their preſent plan of building, which I ſhall preſently deſcribe. Now, in the firſt clearing of their plantations, they only bark the large timber, cut down the ſapplings and underwood, and burn them in heaps; as the ſuckers ſhoot up, they chop them off cloſe by the ſtump, of which they make fires to deaden the roots, till in time they decay. Though to a ſtranger, this may ſeem to be a lazy method of clearing the wood-lands; yet it is the moſt expeditious method they could have pitched upon, under their circumſtances, as a common hoe and a ſmall hatchet are all their implements for clearing and planting.

Every dwelling-houſe has a ſmall field pretty cloſe to it: and, as ſoon as the ſpring of the year admits, there they plant a variety of large and ſmall beans, peas, and the ſmaller ſort of Indian corn, which uſually ripens in two months, from the time it is planted; though it is called by the Engliſh, the ſix weeks corn. Around this ſmall farm, they faſten ſtakes in the ground, and tie a couple of long ſplit hiccory, or white oak-ſapplings, at proper diſtances to keep off the horſes: though they cannot leap fences, yet many of the old horſes will creep through theſe encloſures, almoſt as readily as ſwine, to the great regret of the women, who ſcold and give them ill names, calling them ugly mad horſes, and bidding them "go along, and be ſure to keep away, otherwiſe their hearts will hang ſharp within them, and ſet them on to ſpoil them, if envy and covetouſneſs lead them back." Thus they argue with them, and they are uſually as good as their word, by ſtriking a tomohawk into the horſe, if he does not obſerve the friendly caution they gave him at the laſt parting. Their large fields lie quite open with regard to fencing, and they believe it to be agreeable to the beſt rules of œconomy; becauſe, as they ſay, they can cultivate the beſt of their land here and there, as it ſuits their conveniency, without waſting their time in fences and childiſhly confining their improvements, as if the crop would eat itſelf. The women however tether the horſes with tough young bark-ropes, and confine the ſwine in convenient penns, from the time the proviſions are planted, till they are gathered in—the men improve this time, either in killing plenty of wild game, or courſing againſt the common enemy, and thereby ſecure the women and girls, and get their own temples ſurrounded with the ſwan-feathered cap. In this manner, the Indians have to me, excuſed their long-contracted habit and practice.

The chief part of the Indians begin to plant their out-fields, when the wild fruit is ſo ripe, as to draw off the birds from picking up the grain. This is their general rule, which is in the beginning of May, about the time the traders ſet off for the Engliſh ſettlements. Among ſeveral nations of Indians, each town uſually works together. Previous thereto, an old beloved man warns the inhabitants to be ready to plant on a prefixed day. At the dawn of it, one by order goes aloft, and whoops to them with ſhrill calls, " that the new year is far advanced,—that he who expects to eat, muſt work,—and that he who will not work, muſt expect to pay the fine according to old cuſtom, or leave the town, as they will not ſweat themſelves for an healthy idle waſter." At ſuch times, may be ſeen many war-chieftains working in common with the people, though as great emperors, as thoſe the Spaniards beſtowed on the old ſimple Mexicans and Peruvians, and equal in power, (i. e. perſuaſive force) with the imperial and puiſſant Powhatan of Virginia, whom our generous writers raiſed to that prodigious pitch of power and grandeur, to rival the Spaniſh accounts. About an hour after ſun-riſe, they enter the field agreed on by lot, and fall to work with great cheerfulneſs; ſometimes one of their orators cheers them with jeſts and humorous old tales, and ſings ſeveral of their moſt agreeable wild tunes, beating alſo with a ſtick in his right hand, on the top of an earthern pot covered with a wet and well-ſtretched deerſkin: thus they proceed from field to field, till their ſeed is ſown.

Corn is their chief produce, and main dependance. Of this they have three ſorts; one of which hath been already mentioned. The ſecond ſort is yellow and flinty, which they call " hommony-corn." The third is the largeſt, of a very white and ſoft grain, termed " bread-corn." In July, when the cheſnuts and corn are green and full grown, they half boil the former, and take off the rind; and having ſliced the milky, ſwelled, long rows of the latter, the women pound it in a large wooden mortar, which is wide at the mouth, and gradually narrows to the bottom: then they knead both together, wrap them up in green corn-blades of various ſizes, about an inch-thick, and boil them well, as they do every kind of ſeethed food. This ſort of bread is very tempting to the taſte, and reckoned moſt delicious to their ſtrong palates. They have another ſort of boiled bread, which is mixed with beans, or potatoes; they put on the ſoft corn till it begins to boil, and pound it ſufficiently fine;—their invention does not reach to the uſe of any kind of milk. When the flour is ſtirred, and dried by the heat of the ſun or fire, they ſift it with ſieves of different ſizes, curiouſly made of the coarſer or finer cane-ſplinters. The thin cakes mixt with bear's oil, were formerly baked on thin broad ſtones placed over a fire, or on broad earthen bottoms fit for ſuch a uſe: but now they uſe kettles. When they intend to bake great loaves, they make a ſtrong blazing fire, with ſhort dry ſplit wood, on the hearth. When it is burnt down to coals, they carefully rake them off to each ſide, and ſweep away the remaining aſhes: then they put their well-kneeded broad loaf, firſt ſteeped in hot water, over the hearth, and an earthen baſon above it, with the embers and coals a-top. This method of baking is as clean and efficacious as could poſſibly be done in any oven; when they take it off, they waſh the loaf with warm water, and it ſoon becomes firm, and very white. It is likewiſe very wholeſome, and well-taſted to any except the vitiated palate of an Epicure.

The French of Weſt-Florida, and the Engliſh coloniſts, got from the Indians different ſorts of beans and peas, with which they were before entirely unacquainted. And they plant a ſort of ſmall tobacco, which the French and Engliſh have not. All the Indian nations we have any acquaintance with, frequently uſe it on the moſt religious occaſions. The women plant alſo pompions, and different ſorts of melons, in ſeparate fields, at a conſiderable diſtance from the town, where each owner raiſes an high ſcaffold, to over-look this favourite part of their vegetable poſſeſſions: and though the enemy ſometimes kills them in this their ſtrict watch duty, yet it is a very rare thing to paſs by thoſe fields, without ſeeing them there at watch. This uſually is the duty of the old women, who fret at the very ſhadow of a crow, when he chances to paſs on his wide ſurvey of the fields; but if pinching hunger ſhould excite him to deſcend, they ſoon frighten him away with their ſcreeches. When the pompions are ripe, they cut them into long circling ſlices, which they barbacue, or dry with a ſlow heat. And when they have half boiled the larger ſort of potatoes, they likewiſe dry them over a moderate fire, and chiefly uſe them in the ſpring-ſeaſon, mixt with their favourite bear's oil. As ſoon as the larger ſort of corn is full-eared, they half-boil it too, and dry it either by the ſun, or over a ſlow fire; which might be done, as well, in a moderately hot oven, if the heat was renewed as occaſion required. This they boil with veniſon, or any other unſalted fleſh. They commonly have pretty good crops, which is owing to the richneſs of the ſoil; for they often let the weeds out-grow the corn, before they begin to be in earneſt with their work, owing to their lazineſs and unſkilfulneſs in planting: and this method is general through all thoſe nations that work ſeparately in their own fields, which in a great meaſure checks the growth of their crops. Beſides, they are ſo deſirous of having *multum in parvo*, without much ſweating, that they plant the corn-hills ſo cloſe, as to thereby choak up the field.—They plant their corn in ſtraight rows, putting five or ſix grains into one hole, about two inches diſtant—They cover them with clay in the form of a ſmall hill. Each row is a yard aſunder, and in the vacant ground they plant pumpkins, water-melons, marſh-mallows, ſun-flowers, and ſundry ſorts of beans and peas, the laſt two of which yield a large increaſe.

They have a great deal of fruit, and they dry ſuch kinds as will bear it. At the fall of the leaf, they gather a number of hiccory-nuts, which they pound with a round ſtone, upon a ſtone, thick and hollowed for the purpoſe. When they are beat fine enough, they mix them with cold water, in a clay baſon, where the ſhells ſubſide. The other part is an oily, tough, thick, white ſubſtance, called by the traders hiccory milk, and by the Indians the fleſh, or fat of hiccory-nuts, with which they eat their bread. A hearty ſtranger would be as apt to dip into the ſediments as I did, the firſt time this vegetable thick milk was ſet before me. As ranging the woods had given me a keen appetite, I was the more readily tempted to believe they only tantalized me for their diverſion, when they laughed heartily at my ſuppoſed ignorance. But luckily when the baſon was in danger, the bread was brought in piping hot, and the good-natured landlady being informed of my ſimplicity, ſhewed me the right way to uſe the vegetable liquid. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the great variety of diſhes they make out of wild fleſh, corn, beans, peas, potatoes, pompions, dried fruits, herbs and roots. They can diverſify their courſes, as much as the Engliſh, or perhaps the French cooks: and in either of the ways they dreſs their food, it is grateful to a wholeſome ſtomach.

Their old fields abound with larger ſtrawberries than I have ſeen in any part of the world; inſomuch, that in the proper ſeaſon, one may gather a hat-full, in the ſpace of two or three yards ſquare. They have a ſort of wild potatoes, which grow plentifully in their rich low lands, from South-Carolina to the Miſſiſippi, and partly ſerve them inſtead of bread, either in the woods a hunting, or at home when the foregoing ſummer's crop fails them. They have a ſmall vine, which twines, chiefly round the watry alder; and the hogs feed often upon the grapes. Their ſurface is uneven, yet inclining to a round figure. They are large, of a coarſe grain, well-taſted, and very wholeſome; in the woods, they are a very agreeable repaſt. There grows a long flag, in ſhallow ponds, and on the edges of running waters, with an ever-green, broad, round leaf, a little indented where it joins the ſtalk; it bears only one leaf, that always floats on the ſurface of the water, and affords plenty of cooling ſmall nuts, which make a ſweet-taſted, and favourite bread, when mixed with Indian corn flour. It is a ſort of marſh-mallows, and reckoned a ſpeedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward,—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully. The Choktah ſo highly eſteem this vegetable, that they call one of their head-towns, by its name.

Providence hath furniſhed even the uncultivated parts of America with ſufficient to ſupply the calls of nature.—Formerly, about fifty miles to the north-eaſt of the Chikkaſah country, I ſaw the chief part of the main camp of the Shawano, conſiſting of about 450 perſons, on a tedious ramble to the Muſkohge country, where they ſettled, ſeventy-miles above the Alabahma-garriſon: they had been ſtraggling in the woods, for the ſpace of four years, as they aſſured me, yet in general they were more corpulent than the Chikkaſah who accompanied me, notwithſtanding they had lived during that time, on the wild products of the American deſarts. This evinces how eaſily nature's wants are ſupplied, and that the divine goodneſs extends to America and its inhabitants. They are acquainted with a great many herbs and roots, of which the general part of the Engliſh have not the leaſt knowledge. If an Indian were driven out into the extenſive woods, with only a knife and tomohawk, or a ſmall hatchet, it is not to be doubted but he would fatten, even where a wolf would ſtarve. He could ſoon collect fire, by rubbing two dry pieces of wood together, make a bark hut, earthen veſſels, and a bow and arrows; then kill wild game, fiſh, freſh water tortoiſes, gather a plentiful variety of vegetables, and live in affluence. Formerly, they made their knives of flint-ſtone, or of ſplit canes; and ſometimes they are now forced to uſe the like, in flaying wild animals, when in their winter hunt they have the misfortune to loſe their knives.

I ſhall mention one inſtance, which will confirm what I have ſaid of their ſurpriſing ſkill and ability of living in deſarts, inhabited only by wild beaſts. In the winter of the year 1747, one of the Chikkaſah traders went from home, about ten miles, accompanied only by a negro; ſix of the miles was an old waſte field, which the Chikkaſah formerly had ſettled, when they were more numerous. On their return home, within two miles of the outer-houſes, while riding careleſly near two ſteep gullies, there ſtood a couple of Canada Indians behind a tree, (beſide two others a little way off) within a few yards of the path, with their trunk guns, watching two boys then in ſight—when the trader and his ſervant came abreaſt of them, the negro's horſe received a mortal ſhot, and after carrying him about a quarter of a mile, on leaping a difficult paſs, he fell dead on the ſpot; the rider's heels carried him the reſt of the way ſafe: but, unluckily, it did not fare ſo well with the gentleman, for as he rode a young Choktah horſe, which had been uſed only to a rope round his neck, the reining him with a bridle, checked him, and the French ſavages had an opportunity to give the gentleman two mortal wounds, with braſs-barbed arrows, the one in his belly, and the other a little below the heart; beſide two others in his left ſhoulder. His horſe being frightened, ſprung off at full ſpeed, and brought him home. The gentleman in his rapid courſe twiſted the murdering arrows out of his bowels, but could not reach thoſe that were deeply lodged in his ſhoulder. He lived two nights and a day after this in moſt exquiſite tortures, but ſenſible to the laſt; when he had been forcibly kept down, a conſiderable time on the bed, he entreated in the moſt importunate manner, to be helped to lean his back againſt the wall, and it would give him eaſe. At my requeſt it was allowed him—he immediately expired, and it is to be hoped, that, according to his deſire, he immediately entered into eternal reſt. While he lay a corpſe, and till we the next day buried him, the Indians were ſilent, and almoſt inviſible. The negro and his maſter, as ſoon as they diſcovered the Canadians, put up the ſhrill whoop, both to warn the Chikkaſah, and draw them againſt the enemy; this made the two boys to ſtretch home, which they did a little before ſun-ſet. But the lateneſs of the day, prevented our friends purſuing, till next morning. By the diſtance the enemy ran in the night, they for that time evaded their eager purſuers. Some went to the place of ambuſcade, and found that the enemy being diſappointed of the prey falling into their hands, had purſued till they came up with the negro's horſe, which they had chopped, and the ſaddle, with their tomohawks, all to pieces. However, about half way between the Chikkaſah country and the Illinois, three old Chikkaſah warriors, on their way to join the main camp, came up with thoſe Canadians in wet buſhy ground;—they cloſely chaſed them for ſeveral miles, and forced them by degrees to throw away every thing they carried, and ſeek their ſafety by leaping quite naked into a deep and broad creek, that was much frozen on the two banks; it was for ſome time imagined they had periſhed in the woods, by the ſeverity of winter, but we were well informed afterwards, that like hardy beaſts of prey, they got ſafe home.

None of the Indians however eat any kind of raw ſallads; they reckon ſuch food is only fit for brutes. Their taſte is ſo very oppoſite to that of cannibals, that in order to deſtroy the blood, (which with them is an abomination to eat) they over-dreſs every kind of animal food they uſe. I have often jeſted them for preſſing me to eat eggs, that were boiled ſo much as to be blue, and told them my teeth were too bad to chew bullets. They ſaid they could not ſuck eggs after the manner of the white people, otherwiſe they would have brought them raw; but they hoped I would excuſe the preſent, and they would take particular care not to repeat the error, the next time I favoured them with a viſit. In the ſpring of the year, they uſe a great many valuable greens and herbs, which nature has peculiarly adapted to their rich, and high-ſituated regions: few of them have gardens, and it is but of late they have had any angelica, or belly-ach-root; this is one of their phyſical greens, which they call *Look-ſooſhe*.

I ſhall now deſcribe the domeſtic life of the Indians, and the traders among them. The Indians ſettle themſelves in towns or villages after an eaſy manner; the houſes are not too cloſe to incommode one another, nor too far diſtant for ſocial defence. If the nation where the Engliſh traders reſide, is at war with the French, or their red confederates, which is the ſame, their houſes are built in the middle of the town, if deſired, on account of greater ſecurity. But if they are at peace with each other, both the Indians and traders chuſe to ſettle at a very convenient diſtance, for the ſake of their live ſtock, eſpecially the latter, for the Indian youth are as deſtructive to the pigs and poultry, as ſo many young wolves or foxes.

Their parents now only give them ill names for ſuch miſconduct, calling them mad; but the miſchievous, and thieviſh, were formerly ſure to be dry-ſcratched, which puniſhment hath been already deſcribed.

Moſt of the Indians have clean, neat, dwelling houſes, white-waſhed within and without, either with decayed oyſter-ſhells, coarſe-chalk, or white marly clay; one or other of which, each of our Indian nations abounds with, be they ever ſo far diſtant from the ſea-ſhore: the Indians, as well as the traders, uſually decorate their ſummer-houſes with this favourite white-waſh.—The former have likewiſe each a corn-houſe, fowl-houſe, and a hot-houſe, or ſtove for winter: and ſo have the traders likewiſe ſeparate ſtore-houſes for their goods, as well as to contain the proper remittances received in exchange.

The traders hot-houſes are appropriated to their young-riſing prolific family, and their well-pleaſed attendants, who are always as kindly treated as brethren; and their various buildings, are like towers in cities, beyond the common ſize of thoſe of the Indians. Before the Indians were corrupted by mercenary empirics, their good ſenſe led them to eſteem the traders among them as their ſecond ſun, warming their backs with the Britiſh fleeces, and keeping in their candle of life both by plentiful ſupport, and continual protection and ſafety, from the fire-arms and ammunition which they annually brought to them. While the Indians were ſimple in manners, and uncorrupt in morals, the traders could not be reckoned unhappy; for they were kindly treated, and watchfully guarded, by a ſociety of friendly and ſagacious people, and poſſeſſed all the needful things to make a reaſonable life eaſy. Through all the Indian countries, every perſon lives at his own choice, not being forced in the leaſt degree to any thing contrary to his own inclination. Before that moſt impolitic ſtep of giving general licences took place, only a ſufficient number of orderly reputable traders were allowed to traffic, and reſide among the Indians: by which means the laſt were kept under proper reſtraint, were eaſy in their minds, and peaceable, on account of the plain honeſt leſſons daily inculcated on them. But at preſent, moſt of their countries ſwarm with white people, who are generally the dregs and off-ſcourings of our colonies. The deſcription is ſo exceedingly diſagreeable, that I ſhall only obſerve, the greater part of them could notably diſtinguiſh themſelves, among the moſt profligate

gate by land or ſea, no day of the week excepted, indeed the ſabbath day is the worſt. This is the true ſituation of our Indian affairs,—the unavoidable reſult of ignorant and wicked clergymen ſettled as Miſſionaries on the frontiers; and of that pernicious practice of general licences, by which crowds of diſorderly people infeſt the Indian countries, corrupt their morals, and put their civilization out of the power of common means: the worſt and meaneſt may readily get nominal ſecurity to intitle them to a trading licence; and ill uſes are made of them with impunity.

Till of late years, the honeſt traders lived among the Indians in the greateſt plenty. They abounded with hogs, which made very firm ſtreaked bacon, and much preferable to that in the Engliſh ſettlements chiefly owing to the acorns and hiccory-nuts they feed on: but the Indians are now grown ſo proud and lazy, by having goods too cheap and plenty, that very few raiſe any. There are at leaſt five times the number of trading houſes in all the weſtern Indian nations, ſince general licences, through the wiſdom of our civil rulers, were firſt granted, than was formerly, while experience directed South-Carolina to purſue and enforce proper meaſures. Such a number of lewd, idle white ſavages are very hurtful to the honeſt part of the traders, by heightening the value of vegetables, eſpecially in the time of light crops, to an exorbitant price; for by inebriating the Indians with their nominally prohibited, and poiſoning ſpirits, they purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, at four or five hundred per cent cheaper, than the orderly traders; which is a great check to the few, who have a love to the welfare of their country, and ſtrictly obſerve the laws of trade. Beſides, thoſe men decoy the intoxicated ſavages to defraud the old fair dealer every winter, of many thouſand pounds of dreſt deer-ſkins, by the enchanting force of liquors, which, on account of their indolence and improvident diſpoſition, intereſt abſolutely required him to credit them for: but when at the end of their mad career, they open their diſtracted eyes, and bitterly inveigh againſt the tempting authors of their nakedneſs, then there is the ſame neceſſity of truſting them a-new for the next ſeaſon's hunt, and likewiſe the ſame improbability, either of better ſucceſs, or any ſort of redreſs; for family jobs muſt not be interrupted or retarded on any account.

The induſtrious old traders have ſtill a plenty of hogs, which they raiſe in folds, moſtly on the weeds of the fields during the whole time the crops are in the ground; likewiſe ſome hundreds of fowls at once,—plenty of veniſon,—the dried fleſh of bears and buffalos,—wild turkeys, ducks, geeſe, and pigeons, during the proper ſeaſon of their being fat and plenty; for the former ſort of fowls are lean in the ſummer, and the others are in theſe moderate climates only during the winter, for they return northward with the ſun. The buffalos are now become ſcarce, as the thoughtleſs and waſteful Indians uſed to kill great numbers of them, only for the tongues and marrow-bones, leaving the reſt of the carcaſes to the wild beaſts. The traders commonly make bacon of the bears in winter; but the Indians moſtly flay off a thick tier of fat which lies over the fleſh, and the latter they cut up into ſmall pieces, and thruſt them on reeds, or ſuckers of ſweet-taſted hiccory or ſaſſafras, which they barbecue over a ſlow fire. The fat they fry into clear well-taſted oil, mixing plenty of ſaſſafras and wild cinnamon with it over the fire, which keeps ſweet from one winter to another, in large earthen jars, covered in the ground. It is of a light digeſtion, and nutritive to hair. All who are acquainted with its qualities, prefer it to any oil, for any uſe whatſoever: ſmooth Florence is not to be compared in this reſpect with rough America.

I have known gentlemen of the niceſt taſte, who on the beginning of their firſt trip into the Indian country, were ſo greatly prejudiced againſt eating bears-fleſh, that they vehemently proteſted, they would as ſoon eat part of a barbecued rib of a wolf, or any other beaſt of prey, as a ſpare-rib of a young bear; but, by the help of a good appetite, which their exerciſe and change of air procured, they ventured to taſte a little: and preſently they fed on it more plentifully than others, to make up the loſs they had ſuſtained by their former ſqueamiſhneſs and neglect. In the ſpring of the year, bear-bacon is a favourite diſh with the traders, along with herbs that the woods afford in plenty; eſpecially with the young tops of poke, the root of which is a very ſtrong poiſon. And this method they purſue year by year, as a phyſical regimen, in order to purge their blood.

Buffalo fleſh is nothing but beef of a coarſer grain, though of a ſweeter taſte than the tame ſort: elk-fleſh has the like affinity to veniſon. The deer are very fat in winter, by reaſon of the great quantities of cheſnuts, and various ſorts of acorns, that cover the boundleſs woods. Though moſt of the traders who go to the remote Indian countries, have tame ſtock, as already deſcribed, and are very expert at fire-arms and ranging the woods a hunting; yet every ſervant that each of them fits out for the winter's hunt, brings home to his maſter a large heap of fat barbecued briſkets, rumps, and tongues of buffalo and deer, as well as plenty of bear-ribs, which are piled on large racks: theſe are laid up and uſed not for neceſſity, but for the ſake of variety. The traders carry up alſo plenty of chocolate, coffee, and ſugar, which enables them with their numberleſs quantity of fowls-eggs, fruit, &c. to have puddings, pyes, paſties, fritters, and many other articles of the like kind, in as great plenty, as in the Engliſh ſettlements. Several of the Indians produce ſugar out of the ſweet maple-tree, by making an inciſion, draining the juice, and boiling it to a proper conſiſtence.

Though in moſt of the Indian nations, the water is good, becauſe of their high ſituation, yet the traders very ſeldom drink any of it at home; for the women beat in mortars their flinty corn, till all the huſks are taken off, which having well ſifted and fanned, they boil in large earthen pots; then ſtraining off the thinneſt part into a pot, they mix it with cold water, till it is ſufficiently liquid for drinking: and when cold, it is both pleaſant and very nouriſhing; and is much liked even by the genteel ſtrangers. The Indians always uſed mortars, inſtead of mills, and they had them, with almoſt every other convenience, when we firſt opened a trade with them—they cautiouſly burned a large log, to a proper level and length, placed fire a-top, and wet mortar round it, in order to give the utenſil a proper form: and when the fire was extinguiſhed, or occaſion required, they chopped the inſide with their ſtone-inſtruments, patiently continuing the ſlow proceſs, till they finiſhed the machine to the intended purpoſe. I have the pleaſure of writing this by the ſide of a Chikkaſah female, as great a princeſs as ever lived among the ancient Peruvians, or Mexicans, and ſhe bids me be ſure not to mark the paper wrong, after the manner of moſt of the traders; otherwiſe, it will ſpoil the making good bread, or hommony, and of courſe beget the ill-will of our white women.

I ſhall now deſcribe their method of building houſes to ſecure themſelves and their food from injury—They are a very dilatory people, and noted for procraſtinating every thing that admits of the leaſt delay: but they are the readieſt, and quickeſt of all people in going to ſhed blood, and returning home; whence the traders ſay, "that an Indian is never in haſte, only when the devil is at his arſe." This proverb is fully verified by their method of building; for while the memory of the bleak pinching winds laſts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened ſkins, they turn out early in the ſpring, to ſtrip clap-boards and cypreſs-bark, for the covering of their houſes: but in proportion as the ſun advances, they uſually deſiſt from their undertaking during that favourable ſeaſon; ſaying, "that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houſes in the troubleſome hot ſummer, is a needleſs and fooliſh affair, as it occaſions much ſweating,"—which is the moſt offenſive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping fire-wood for daily uſe, it is as rare to hear the ſound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the unhoſpitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and neceſſity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more eaſe. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the neareſt of their tribe in neighbouring towns, aſſiſt one another, well knowing that many hands make ſpeedy work of that, which would have diſcouraged any of them from ever attempting by himſelf. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry graſs, and thoroughly finiſh, a good commodious houſe.

They firſt trace the dimenſions of the intended fabric, and every one has his taſk preſcribed him after the exacteſt manner. In a few hours they get the timber ready from the ſtump: every piece being marked, it is readily applied to the proper place, in a great hurry, and ſo very ſecure, as if it were to ſcreen them from an approaching hurricane. Notwithſtanding they build in this haſty manner, their houſes are commonly genteel and convenient. For their ſummer houſes, they generally fix ſtrong poſts of pitch-pine deep in the ground, which will laſt for ſeveral ages—The trees of dried locuſt, and ſaſſafras, are likewiſe very durable.

The poſts are of an equal height; and the wall-plates are placed on top of theſe, in notches. Then they ſink a large poſt in the center of each gable end, and another in the middle of the houſe where the partition is to be, in order to ſupport the roof-tree; to theſe they tie the rafters with broad ſplinters of white oak, or hiccory, unleſs they make choice of ſuch long ſapplings, as will reach from ſide to ſide over the ridge hole, which, with a proper notch in the middle of each of them, and bound as the other ſort, lie very ſecure. Above thoſe, they fix either ſplit ſapplings, or three large winter canes together, at proper diſtances, well tied. Again, they place above the wall-plates of both ſides the houſe, a ſufficient number of ſtrong crooks to bear up the eave-boards: and they faſten each of them, both to one of the rafters and the wall-plate, with the bandages before deſcribed. As the poplar tree is very ſoft, they make their eave-boards of it, with their ſmall hatchets: having placed one on each ſide, upon the crooks, exceeding the length of the houſe, and jutting a foot beyond the wall, they cover the fabric with pine, or cypreſs clap-boards, which they can ſplit readily; and crown the work with the bark of the ſame trees, all of a proper length and breadth, which they had before provided. In order to ſecure this covering from the force of the high winds, they put a ſufficient number of long ſplit ſapplings above the covering of each ſide, from end to end, and tie them faſt to the end of the laths. Then they place heavy logs above, reſting on the eave-boards, oppoſite to each crook, which overlap each other on the oppoſite ſides, about two feet a-top, whereon they fix a convenient log, and tie them together, as well as the laths to the former, which bind it together, and thus the fabric becomes a ſavage philoſopher's caſtle, the ſide and gables of which are bullet proof. The barrier towns cut port holes in thoſe ſummer houſes, daubing them over with clay, ſo as an enemy cannot diſcover them on the outſide;—they draw a circle round each of them in the inſide of the houſe, and when they are attacked, they open their port holes in a trice, and fall to work. But thoſe, that live more at eaſe, indulge themſelves accordingly. Herein, they teach us to ſecure our barrier ſettlements with proper places of defence, before we flatter ourſelves with the uncertain hope of reaping what we plant, or grow fond of the ſhowy parts of life. When the Britiſh empire hath a ſufficient plenty of ſtrong frontier garriſons to protect ſuch as the weak, and valuable colony of Weſt Florida, fine and well furniſhed houſes will ſoon riſe of courſe. The Indians always make their doors of poplar, becauſe the timber is large, and very light when ſeaſoned, as well as eaſy to be hewed; they cut the tree to a proper length, and ſplit it with a maul and hard wooden wedges, when they have indented it a little, in convenient places with their ſmall hatchets. They often make a door of one plank in breadth, but, when it requires two planks, they fix two or three croſs bars to the inner ſide, at a proper diſtance, and bore each of them with a piece of an old gun barrel, heated and battered for the purpoſe, and ſew them together with ſtraps of a ſhaved and wet buffalo hide, which tightens as it dries, and it is almoſt as ſtrong as if it were done with long nails, riveted in the uſual manner. Thus, they finiſh their ſummer houſe of pleaſure, without any kind of iron, or working tools whatſoever, except a ſmall hatchet of iron (that formerly was a long ſharpened ſtone) and a knife; which plainly ſhews them to be ingenious, and capable of attaining all the liberal arts and ſciences, under a proper cultivation.

The clothing of the Indians being very light, they provide themſelves for the winter with hot-houſes, whoſe properties are to retain, and reflect the heat, after the manner of the Dutch ſtoves. To raiſe theſe, they fix deep in the ground, a ſufficient number of ſtrong forked poſts, at a proportional diſtance, in a circular form, all of an equal height, about five or ſix feet above the ſurface of the ground: above theſe, they tie very ſecurely large pieces of the heart of white oak, which are of a tough flexible nature, interweaving this orbit, from top to bottom, with pieces of the ſame, or the like timber. Then, in the middle of the fabric they fix very deep in the ground, four large pine poſts, in a quadrangular form, notched a-top, on which they lay a number of heavy logs, let into each other, and rounding gradually to the top. Above this huge pile, to the very top, they lay a number of long dry poles, all properly notched, to keep ſtrong hold of the under poſts and wall-plate. Then they weave them thick with their ſplit ſapplings, and daub them all over about ſix or ſeven inches thick with tough clay, well mixt with withered graſs: when this cement is half dried, they thatch the houſe with the longeſt ſort of dry graſs, that their land produces. They firſt lay on one round tier, placing a ſplit ſappling a-top, well tied to different parts of the under pieces of timber, about fifteen inches below the eave: and, in this manner, they proceed circularly to the very ſpire, where commonly a pole is fixed, that diſplays on the top the figure of a large carved eagle. At a ſmall diſſtance below which, four heavy logs are ſtrongly tied together acroſs, in a quadrangular form, in order to ſecure the roof from the power of envious blaſts. The door of this winter palace, is commonly about four feet high, and ſo narrow as not to admit two to enter it abreaſt, with a winding paſſage for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven feet, to ſecure themſelves both from the power of the bleak winds, and of an invading enemy. As they uſually build on riſing ground, the floor is often a yard lower than the earth, which ſerves them as a breaſt work againſt an enemy : and a ſmall peeping window is level with the ſurface of the outſide ground, to enable them to rake any lurking invaders in caſe of an attack. As they have no metal to reflect the heat ; in the fall of the year, as ſoon as the ſun begins to loſe his warming power, ſome of the women make a large fire of dry wood, with which they chiefly provide themſelves, but only from day to day, through their thoughtleſsneſs of to-morrow. When the fire is a little more than half burnt down, they cover it over with aſhes, and, as the heat declines, they ſtrike off ſome of the top embers, with a long cane, wherewith each of the couches, or broad ſeats, is conſtantly provided ; and this method they purſue from time to time as need requires, till the fire is expended, which is commonly about day-light. While the new fire is burning down, the houſe, for want of windows and air, is full of hot ſmoky darkneſs ; and all this time, a number of them lie on their broad bed places, with their heads wrapped up.

The inſide of their houſes is furniſhed with genteel couches to ſit, and lie upon, raiſed on four forks of timber of a proper height, to give the ſwarming fleas ſome trouble in their attack, as they are not able to reach them at one ſpring : they tie with fine white oak ſplinters, a ſufficient quantity of middle-ſized canes of proper dimenſions, to three or four bars of the ſame ſort, which they faſten above the frame ; and they put their mattreſſes a-top, which are made of long cane ſplinters. Their bedding conſiſts of the ſkins of wild beaſts, ſuch as of buffalos, panthers, bears, elks, and deer, which they dreſs with the hair on, as ſoft as velvet. Their male children they chuſe to raiſe on the ſkins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is poſſeſt of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed : and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as ſmelling, ſtrength, cunning,

ning, and a prodigious ſpring, they reckon ſuch a bed is the firſt rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; theſe they lay on the ſkins of fawns, or buffalo calves, becauſe they are ſhy and timorous: and, if the mother be indiſpoſed by ſickneſs, her neareſt female relation ſuckles the child, but only till ſhe recovers. This practice gives a friendly leſſon to ſuch mothers, who, oſtrich like, as ſoon as the tender infant ſucks in the firſt breath of air, commit it to the ſwarthy breaſts of a fœtid African to graft it on her groſs ſtock.

Their ſtools they cut out of poplar wood, all of one piece, and of a convenient height and ſhape. Their cheſts are made of clap-boards ſewed to croſs bars with ſcraped wet buffalo ſtrings. Their domeſtic utenſils conſiſt of earthen pots, pans, jugs, mugs, jars, &c. of various antiquated ſorts, which would have puzzled Adam, to have given them ſignificant names. Their wooden diſhes, and ſpoons made of wood and buffalo horn, ſhew ſomething of a newer invention and date, being of nicer workmanſhip, for the ſculpture of the laſt is plain, and repreſents things that are within the reach of their own ideas.

Every town has a large edifice, which with propriety may be called the mountain houſe, in compariſon of thoſe already deſcribed. But the only difference between it, and the winter houſe or ſtove, is in its dimenſions, and application. It is uſually built on the top of a hill; and, in that ſeparate and imperial ſtate houſe, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material buſineſs, or to divert themſelves, and feaſt and dance with the reſt of the people. They furniſh the inſide with genteel couches, either to ſit or lie on, about ſeven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a deſcent towards the wall, to ſecure them from falling off when aſleep. Every one takes his ſeat, according to his reputed merit; a worthleſs coxcomb dare not be guilty of the leaſt intruſion—ſhould he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vileſt diſgrace, and bears their ſtinging laughter. This may not be an unprofitable leſſon to ſome of our young red coated men, who never traverſed the rough bloody fields of Flanders; they would be more reſpected if they were more modeſt, and diſplayed ſuperior virtues to thoſe whom they affect to deſpiſe. Thou, who boaſteſt of the noble blood of the Scipios running in thy veins, doſt thou equal the brave actions of the Scipios? If not, thou art a diſgrace to them; their virtue would renounce thee, and ſhould make thee aſhamed to own them.

Formerly, the Indians made very handſome carpets. They have a wild hemp that grows about ſix feet high, in open, rich, level lands, and which uſually ripens in July: it is plenty on our frontier ſettlements. When it is fit for uſe, they pull, ſteep, peel, and beat it; and the old women ſpin it off the diſtaffs, with wooden machines, having ſome clay on the middle of them, to haſten the motion. When the coarſe thread is prepared, they put it into a frame about ſix feet ſquare, and inſtead of a ſhuttle, they thruſt through the thread with a long cane, having a large ſtring through the web, which they ſhift at every ſecond courſe of the thread. When they have thus finiſhed their arduous labour, they paint each ſide of the carpet with ſuch figures, of various colours, as their fruitful imaginations deviſe; particularly the images of thoſe birds and beaſts they are acquainted with; and likewiſe of themſelves, acting in their ſocial, and martial ſtations. There is that due proportion, and ſo much wild variety in the deſign, that would really ſtrike a curious eye with pleaſure and admiration. J. W—t, Eſq; a moſt ſkilful linguiſt in the Muſkohge dialect, aſſures me, that time out of mind they paſſed the woof with a ſhuttle; and they have a couple of threddles, which they move with the hand ſo as to enable them to make good diſpatch, ſomething after our manner of weaving. This is ſufficiently confirmed by their method of working broad garters, ſaſhes, ſhot-pouches, broad belts, and the like, which are decorated all over with beautiful ſtripes and chequers. Probably, their method of weaving is ſimilar to the practice of the eaſtern nations, when they came from thence, during the infant ſtate of arts and ſciences. People who were forced to get their daily bread in the extenſive deſarts with their bows and arrows, and by gathering herbs, roots, and nuts, would not be fond of making new experiments, but for the neceſſities of common life; and certainly they would not have choſen a more troubleſome method of clothing themſelves, if they knew an eaſier and quicker manner of effecting it—whoever knows any thing of an Indian, will not accuſe him of that ſin.

The women are the chief, if not the only manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them. The weight of the oar lies on the women, as is the caſe with the German Americans. In the winter ſeaſon, the women gather buffalo's hair, a ſort of coarſe brown curled wool; and having ſpun it as fine as they can, and properly doubled it, they put ſmall beads of different colours upon the yarn, as they work it: the figures they work in thoſe ſmall webs, are generally uniform, but ſometimes they diverſify them on both ſides. The Choktah weave ſhot-pouches, which have raiſed work inſide and outſide. They likewiſe make turkey feather blankets with the long feathers of the neck and breaſt of that large fowl—they twiſt the inner end of the feathers very faſt into a ſtrong double thread of hemp, or the inner bark of the mulberry tree, of the ſize and ſtrength of coarſe twine, as the fibres are ſufficiently fine, and they work it in the manner of fine netting. As the feathers are long and glittering, this ſort of blankets is not only very warm, but pleaſing to the eye.

They make beautiful ſtone pipes; and the Cheerake the beſt of any of the Indians: for their mountainous country contains many different ſorts and colours of ſoils proper for ſuch uſes. They eaſily form them with their tomohawks, and afterward finiſh them in any deſired form with their knives; the pipes being of a very ſoft quality till they are ſmoked with, and uſed to the fire, when they become quite hard. They are often a full ſpan long, and the bowls are about half as large again as thoſe of our Engliſh pipes. The fore part of each commonly runs out with a ſharp peak, two or three fingers broad, and a quarter of an inch thick—on both ſides of the bowl, lengthwiſe, they cut ſeveral pictures with a great deal of ſkill and labour; ſuch as a buffalo and a panther on the oppoſite ſides of the bowl; a rabbit and a fox; and, very often, a man and a woman *puris naturalibus.* Their ſculpture cannot much be commended for its modeſty. The ſavages work ſo ſlow, that one of their artiſts is two months at a pipe with his knife, before he finiſhes it: indeed, as before obſerved, they are great enemies to profuſe ſweating, and are never in a hurry about a good thing. The ſtems are commonly made of ſoft wood about two feet long, and an inch thick, cut into four ſquares, each ſcooped till they join very near the hollow of the ſtem: the beaus always hollow the ſquares, except a little at each corner to hold them together, to which they faſten a parcel of bell-buttons, different ſorts of fine feathers, and ſeveral ſmall battered pieces of copper kettles hammered, round deer-ſkin thongs, and a red painted ſcalp; this is a boaſting, valuable, and ſuperlative ornament. According to their ſtandard, ſuch a pipe conſtitutes the poſſeſſor, a grand beau. They ſo accurately carve, or paint hieroglyphic characters on the ſtem, that all the war-actions, and the tribe of the owner, with a great many circumſtances of things, are fully delineated. This may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who are unacquainted with the ancient ſkill of the Egyptians this way, and the preſent knowledge of the Turkiſh mutes. But ſo it is, and there is not perhaps the like number of mimic mutes on the face of the earth, nor ever were among the old Greek or Roman Pantomimi, as with the Indian Americans, for repreſenting the great and minute things of life, by different geſtures, movements of the body, and expreſſive countenances; and at the ſame time they are perfectly underſtood by each other.

They make the handſomeſt clothes baſkets, I ever ſaw, conſidering their materials. They divide large ſwamp canes, into long, thin, narrow ſplinters, which they dye of ſeveral colours, and manage the workmanſhip ſo well, that both the inſide and outſide are covered with a beautiful variety of pleaſing figures; and, though for the ſpace of two inches below the upper edge of each baſket, it is worked into one, through the other parts they are worked aſunder, as if they were two joined a-top by ſome ſtrong cement. A large neſt conſiſts of eight or ten baſkets, contained within each other. Their dimenſions are different, but they uſually make the outſide baſket about a foot deep, a foot and an half broad, and almoſt a yard long.

The Indians, by reaſon of our ſupplying them ſo cheap with every ſort of goods, have forgotten the chief part of their ancient mechanical ſkill, ſo as not to be well able now, at leaſt for ſome years, to live independent of us. Formerly, thoſe baſkets which the Cheerake made, were ſo highly eſteemed even in South Carolina, the politeſt of our colonies, for domeſtic uſefulneſs, beauty, and ſkilful variety, that a large neſt of them coſt upwards of a moidore.

They make earthen pots of very different ſizes, ſo as to contain from two to ten gallons; large pitchers to carry water; bowls, diſhes, platters, baſons, and a prodigious number of other veſſels of ſuch antiquated forms, as would be tedious to deſcribe, and impoſſible to name. Their method of glazing them, is, they place them over a large fire of ſmoky pitch pine, which makes them ſmooth, black, and firm. Their lands abound with proper clay, for that uſe; and even with porcelain, as has been proved by experiment.

They make perhaps the fineſt bows, and the ſmootheſt barbed arrows, of all mankind. On the point of them is fixed either a ſcooped point of buck-horn, or turkey-cock ſpurs, pieces of braſs, or flint ſtone. The latter ſort our fore-fathers uſed, which our witty grandmothers call elf-ſtones, and now rub the cows with, that are ſo unlucky as to be ſhot by night fairies. One of thoſe flint arrow-points is reckoned a very extraordinary bleſſing in a whole neighbourhood of old women, both for the former cure, as well as a preſervative againſt every kind of bewitching charm.

No people are more expert than the Indians in the uſe of fire-arms, and the bow and quiver: they can freſh ſtock their guns, only with a ſmall hatchet and a knife, and ſtreighten the barrels, ſo as to ſhoot with proper direction. They likewiſe alter, and fix all the ſprings of the lock, with others of the ſort they may have out of uſe; but ſuch a job coſts the red artiſt about two months work.

They are good ſadlers, for they can finiſh a ſaddle with their uſual inſtruments, without any kind of iron to bind the work: but the ſhape of it is ſo antiquated and mean, and ſo much like thoſe of the Dutch Weſt-Indians, that a perſon would be led to imagine they had formerly met, and been taught the art in the ſame ſchool. The Indians provide themſelves with a quantity of white oak boards, and notch them, ſo as to fit the ſaddle-trees; which conſiſt of two pieces before, and two behind, croſſing each other in notches, about three inches below the top ends of the frame. Then they take a buffalo green hide, covered with its winter curls, and having properly ſhaped it to the frame, they ſew it with large thongs of the ſame ſkin, as tight and ſecure as need be; when it is thoroughly dried, it appears to have all the properties of a cuiraſs ſaddle. A trimmed bear-ſkin ſerves for a pad; and formerly, their bridle was only a rope round the horſe's neck, with which they guided him at pleaſure. Moſt of the Choktah uſe that method to this day.

It is ſtrange that all the Indians mount a horſe on the off ſide as we term it, eſpecially as their horſes were originally brought from Europe. In the Choktah country, when I was going to a great ball play, at a conſiderable diſtance off, in company with ſeveral of the head-warriors, we alighted at a cool ſtream of water, to ſmoke, and drink parched corn-flour and water, according to our uſual cuſtom in the woods—when we again ſet off, we jeſted each other for mounting on the wrong ſide. They urged it was moſt natural, and commodious, to put the right foot into the ſtirrup, and at the ſame time lay hold of the mane with the ſtrongeſt hand, inſtead of uſing either of the farthermoſt or oppoſite ones, as they term the left. They carried it againſt me by a majority of voices, whooping and laughing: but, as they were boaſting highly of the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, and their ſkill in riding and guiding them, much better with a rope than with a bridle, I reſolved to convince them of their miſtake; for as the horſe I rode was juſtly named Eagle, and reckoned the ſwifteſt of any in the Chikkaſah country, I invited them to a trial by way of diverſion, in ſo merry a ſeaſon, and they gladly accepted the offer. We ranged ourſelves in a broad row, on each ſide of the wood path, which was rather narrow and crooked, as is the caſe in their countries—they allowed me to take the center, and at the whoop ſignal of the by-ſtanders we ſtarted. My horſe being uſed to ſuch diverſion ſoon left them behind, a conſiderable diſtance; preſently I luckily diſcovered a ſwampy thicket, a-head on my right hand, which ran almoſt our direct courſe along-ſide of a creek. As the wild courſers chiefly followed one another, according to their general cuſtom, I there flew acroſs, and led two of them off the path, into the thicket covered with high brambles. I had little trouble in diſpoſing of the reſt; my whooping, and cracking the whip, ſent each of them along with his neighbour, at full ſpeed, and I continued them ſo a great way: for, as their horſes were frightened, the riders had no command over them, with their boaſted neck bridles. The horſes, at laſt, brought them out into the open woods, to their great joy, when they whooped and hallooed, as deſpiſing what they had undergone; they were however in a diſmal pickle. For it being their cuſtom to carry their ornaments, and looking glaſſes over their ſhoulder, on ſuch public occaſions, my companions were fully trimmed out, and did not ſtrip themſelves, as they expected no ſuch diſaſter. By ſtooping to ſave themſelves from being diſmounted, their favourite looking glaſſes were ſhattered to pieces, the paint moſtly rubbed off their faces, their ſkins of ſmall hawks, and tufts of fine plumes, torn from their heads, and their other ornaments, as well as their clothing and ſkin, ſhared alſo in the misfortune. As ſoon as they could ſtop their horſes, they alighted: and, when I had done laughing at them, they according to cuſtom, ſaid only, *La phene*, "O ſtrange!" The Indians are very happy in not ſhewing the leaſt emotion of anger, for any miſchance that befalls them, in their ſportful exerciſes. I jeſted them in commending the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, even through a bramble thicket, and applauded their ſkill in ſitting, and guiding them ſo well, by the help of their neck bridles. By this time, the hindmoſt of our company came up, who laughed heartily at the ſight of our tattered horſemen, and told them, that they expected I would jockey them in ſome ſuch manner. But the young ambitious heroes aſcribed the whole diſaſter only to the viciousneſs of my horſe, ſaying "he was mad."

From what hath been already ſaid, it muſt be evident, that with proper cultivation, they would ſhine in higher ſpheres of life; and it is not an eaſy matter to ſeduce them from their ſuppoſed intereſts, to the incoherent projects, that our home-bred politicians confidently deviſe over their ſparkling bowls and decanters. The friendly and warlike Indians have an intenſe affection to their country and people, and ſo have the Britiſh Americans: and whatever ſome may think of the coloniſts martial abilities, our wiſe ſtateſmen may be ſoon convinced, that they will be able to maintain all the invaluable bleſſings of free men for themſelves, and convey them to their poſterity in their purity and luſtre, according to the old Engliſh conſtitution, which is built on plain wholeſome laws, and not on the ſophiſms of tyranny.

This leads me to ſpeak of the Indian method of government.—In general, it conſiſts in a fœderal union of the whole ſociety for mutual ſafety. As the law of nature appoints no frail mortal to be a king, or ruler, over his brethren; and humanity forbids the taking away at pleaſure, the life or property of any who obey the good laws of their country, they conſider that the tranſgreſſor ought to have his evil deeds retaliated upon himſelf in an equal manner. The Indians, therefore, have no ſuch titles or perſons, as emperors, or kings; nor an appellative for ſuch, in any of their dialects. Their higheſt title, either in military or civil life, ſignifies only a *Chieftain:* they have no words to expreſs deſpotic power, arbitrary kings, oppreſſed, or obedient ſubjects; neither can they form any other ideas of the former, than of "bad war chieftains of a numerous family, who inſlaved the reſt." The power of their chiefs, is an empty ſound. They can only perſuade or diſſuade the people, either by the force of good-nature and clear reaſoning, or colouring things, ſo as to ſuit their prevailing paſſions. It is reputed merit alone, that gives them any titles of diſtinction above the meaneſt of the people. If we connect with this their opinion of a theocracy, it does not promiſe well to the reputed eſtabliſhment of extenſive and puiſſant Indian American empires. When any national affair is in debate, you may hear every father of a family ſpeaking in his houſe on the ſubject, with rapid, bold language, and the utmoſt freedom that a people can uſe. Their voices, to a man, have due weight in every public affair, as it concerns their welfare alike. Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obſtinate war leader will ſometimes commit acts of hoſtility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the reſt of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on ſmall occaſions, without the general conſent of the head men: for ſhould it prove unſucceſsful, the greater part would be apt to puniſh them as enemies, becauſe they abuſed their power, which they had only to do good to the ſociety. They are very deliberate in their councils, and never give an immediate anſwer to any meſſage ſent them by ſtrangers, but ſuffer ſome nights firſt to elapſe. They reaſon in a very orderly manner, with much coolneſs and good-natured language, though they may differ widely in their opinions. Through reſpect to the ſilent audience, the ſpeaker always addreſſes them in a ſtanding poſture. In this manner they proceed, till each of the head men hath given his opinion on the point in debate. Then they ſit down together, and determine upon the affair. Not the leaſt paſſionate expreſſion is to be heard among them, and they behave with the greateſt civility to each other. In all their ſtated orations they have a beautiful modeſt way of expreſſing their diſlike of ill things. They only ſay, "it is not good, goodly, or commendable." And their whole behaviour, on public occaſions, is highly worthy of imitation by ſome of our Britiſh ſenators and lawyers.

Moſt of their regulations are derived from the plain law of nature. Nature's ſchool contemns all quibbles of art, and teaches them the plain eaſy rule, "do to others, as you would be done by;" when they are able, without greater damage to themſelves, than benefit to their creditor, they diſcharge their honeſt debts. But, though no diſputes paſs between them on ſuch occaſions, yet if there be ſome heart-burnings on particular affairs, as ſoon as they are publicly known, their red Archimagus, and his old beloved men, convene and decide, in a very amicable manner, when both parties become quite eaſy. They have no compulſive power to force the debtor to pay; yet the creditor can diſtrain his goods or chattels, and juſtly ſatisfy himſelf without the leaſt interruption—and, by one of his relations, he ſends back in a very civil manner, the overplus to the owner. Theſe inſtances indeed ſeldom happen, for as they know each other's temper, they are very cautious of irritating, as the conſequences might one day prove fatal—they never ſcold each other when ſober—they conceal their enmity be it ever ſo violent, and will converſe together with ſmooth kind language, and an obliging eaſy behaviour, while envy is preying on their heart. In general, they are very punctual in paying what they owe among themſelves, but they are grown quite careleſs in diſcharging what they owe to the traders, ſince the commencement of our deſtructive plan of general licences. "An old debt," is a proverbial expreſſion with them, of "nothing."

There are many petty crimes which their young people are guilty of,—to which our laws annex ſevere puniſhment, but their's only an ironical way of jeſting. They commend the criminal before a large audience, for practiſing the virtue, oppoſite to the crime, that he is known to be guilty of. If it is for theft, they praiſe his honeſt principles; and they commend a warrior for having behaved valiantly againſt the enemy, when he acted cowardly; they introduce the minuteſt circumſtances of the affair, with ſevere ſarcaſms which wound deeply. I have known them to ſtrike their delinquents with thoſe ſweetened darts, ſo good naturedly and ſkilfully, that they would ſooner die by torture, than renew their ſhame by repeating the actions. In this they exceed many chriſtians. They are capable of being ſhamed out of their ill habits, and their method of cure is exceedingly more proper and merciful, than what we apply. Stripes and fines only inflame the diſtemper; when inflicted publicly for petty crimes, the culprit loſes what is moſt valuable to human nature, the ſenſe of ſhame. He that watches for perſons crimes, to benefit and enrich himſelf at their damage, and the ruin of their families, is an enemy to ſociety. If it is beneath our dignity to learn from the untaught Indian, let us turn to the records of Athens, Sparta, and Rome. When their ſlaves were guilty of intemperance, they expoſed them before their children, and thus ſhewed them its deformity. And, by that, they infuſed into them an early ſhame and abhorrence of vice, and a great love of virtue.

Formerly, the Indian law obliged every town to work together in one body, in ſowing or planting their crops; though their fields are divided by proper marks, and their harveſt is gathered ſeparately. The Cheerake and Muſkohge ſtill obſerve that old cuſtom, which is very neceſſary for ſuch idle people, in their element. The delinquent is aſſeſſed more or leſs, according to his neglect, by proper officers appointed to collect thoſe aſſeſſments, which they ſtrictly fulfil, without the leaſt interruption, or exemption of any able perſon. They are likewiſe bound to aſſiſt in raiſing public edifices. They have not the leaſt trace of any other old compulſive law among them; and they did not ſtand in need of any other in their ſtate. As they were neither able nor deſirous to obtain any thing more than a bare ſupport of life, they could not credit their neighbours beyond a morſel of food, and that they liberally gave, whenever they called. Moſt of them obſerve that hoſpitable cuſtom to this day. Their throwing away all their old proviſions, as impure food, whenever the new harveſt was ſanctified, helped greatly to promote a ſpirit of hoſpitality. Their wants, and daily exerciſe in ſearch of needful things, kept them honeſt. Their ignorance of the gay part of life, helped in a great meaſure to preſerve their virtue. In their former ſtate of ſimplicity, the plain law of nature was enough; but, as they are degenerating very faſt from their ancient ſimplicity, they, without doubt, muſt have new laws to terrify them from committing new crimes, according to the uſage of other nations, who multiply their laws, in proportion to the exigencies of time.

I ſhall now give their opinion of our ſocial and military virtues; which joined with the foregoing, will ſet the Indians in a yet clearer light. We can trace people by their opinion of things, as well as if we ſaw them practiſe them. Moſt of them blame us for uſing a provident care in domeſtic life, calling it a ſlaviſh temper: they ſay we are covetous, becauſe we do not give our poor relations ſuch a ſhare of our poſſeſſions, as would keep them from want. There are but few of themſelves we can blame, on account of theſe crimes, for they are very kind and liberal to every one of their own tribe, even to the laſt morſel of food they enjoy. When we recriminate on the penurious temper of any of their people, they ſay, if our accuſation be true, we by our ill examples tainted them on that head, for their fore-fathers were endued with all the virtues. They frequently tell us, that though we are poſſeſſed of a great deal of yellow and white ſtone, of black people, horſes, cows, hogs, and every thing elſe our hearts delight in—yet they create us as much toil and pain, as if we had none, inſtead of that eaſe and pleaſure, which flow from enjoyment; therefore we are truly poor, and deſerve pity inſtead of envy: they wiſh ſome of their honeſt warriors to have theſe things, as they would know how to uſe them aright, without placing their happineſs, or merit, in keeping them, which would be of great ſervice to the poor, by diffuſing them with a liberal hand. They ſay, they have often ſeen a panther in the woods, with a brace of large fat bucks at once, near a cool ſtream; but that they had more ſenſe than to value the beaſt, on account of his large poſſeſſions: on the contrary, they hated his bad principles, becauſe he would needleſsly deſtroy, and covetouſly engroſs, the good things he could not uſe himſelf, nor would allow any other creature to ſhare of, though ever ſo much pinched with hunger. They reckon, if we made a true eſtimate of things, we ſhould conſider the man without any falſe props, and eſteem him only by the law of virtue, which ennobles men by inſpiring them with good ſentiments and a generous diſpoſition; they ſay they are ſure, from ſundry obſervations, we ſell to the higheſt bidder, our high titles of war, which were only due to brave men who had often fought the enemy with ſucceſs in defence of their country: that they had ſeen, even in Charles-town, ſeveral young, lazy, deformed white men, with big bellies, who ſeemed to require as much help to move them along, as over-grown old women; yet they underſtood theſe were paid a great deal of our beloved yellow ſtone for bearing the great name of warriors, which ſhould be kept ſacred from the effeminate tribe, even if they offered to purchaſe it with their whole poſſeſſions.—That theſe titles ſhould only be conferred on thoſe who excel in martial virtue; otherwiſe, it gives a falſe copy of imitation to the young warriors, and thereby expoſes the whole body of the people to contempt and danger, by perverting the means which ought to ſecure their lives and properties; for, when a country has none but helpleſs people to guard it from hoſtile attempts, it is liable to become a prey to any ambitious perſons, who may think proper to invade it. They allow that corpulency is compatible with marking paper black with the gooſe quill; and with ſtrong-mouthed labour, or pleading at law; becauſe old women can ſit beſt to mark, and their mouths are always the moſt ſharp and biting. But they reckon if our warriors had gained high titles by perſonal bravery, they would be at leaſt in the ſhape of men, if not of active briſk warriors; for conſtant manly exerciſe keeps a due temperament of body, and a juſt proportion of ſhape. They ſaid, ſome were not fit even for the ſervice of an old woman, much leſs for the difficult and lively exerciſes which manly warriors purſue in their rough element—that they could never have gone to war, but bought their beloved, broad paper with yellow ſtone, or it muſt have paſſed from father to ſon, like the reſt of their poſſeſſions; and that by their intemperate method of eating and drinking without proper exerciſe, they had transformed themſelves into thoſe over-grown ſhapes, which our weavers, taylors, and plaiters of falſe hair, rendered more contemptible.

The old men tell us, they remember our colonies in their infant ſtate,—that when the inhabitants were poor and few in number, they maintained proſperous wars againſt the numerous combined nations of red people, who ſurrounded them on all ſides; becauſe in thoſe early days, the law of reaſon was their only guide. In that time of ſimplicity, they lived after the temperate manner of the red people. They copied after honeſt nature, in their food, dreſs, and every purſuit, both in domeſtic and ſocial life. That unerring guide directed them aright, as the event of things publicly declared.

clared. But time is now grown perverſe and childiſh, and has brought with it a flood of corrupting ills. Inſtead of obſerving the old beloved rule of temperance, which their honeſt forefathers ſtrictly purſued, they too often beſot themſelves with baſe luxury, and thereby enervate all their manly powers, ſo as to reduce themſelves to the ſtate of old women, and eſteem martial virtue to conſiſt in the unmanly bulk of their bodies, and the fineneſs and colour of their glittering coats and jackets: whereas ſuch forms and habits only enable the red people to ſort the large buffalos, the fine-feathered parroquets, and wood-peckers—their religious, civil, and martial titles are conferred on the lean, as well as the fat-bodied, without minding whether their clothes are coarſe or fine, or what colour they are of. They ſay, their titles of war invariably beſpeak the man, as they always make them the true attendants of merit, never conferring the leaſt degree of honour on the worthleſs.—That corpulency, or a very genteel outward appearance, would be ſo far from recommending any as war-leaders, that thoſe qualities would render them ſuſpected, till they gave ſufficient proof of their capacity of ſerving their country—that when any diſtinguiſhed themſelves by martial virtue, their fine clothes reflected new beauties on the eyes of the people, who regard a genteel appearance, only on account of the ſhining virtues of the gallant men who wear them.

They often ridicule us, in our gay hours, that they have obſerved our nominal warriors to value themſelves exceedingly on thoſe unpleaſant ſhapes and undue covering—that like contemptible ſhining lizards, they ſwelled their breaſts almoſt as big as their bellies, ſpoke very ſharp to the poor people who were labouring in diſtreſs, frowned with ugly faces at them (whereas they ought to have ſmiled, in order to make their hearts cheerful,) and kept them off at a great diſtance, with their hats in hand, as if they were black people. But ſuch conduct, always a ſure token of cowardice, teſtified with convincing clearneſs, they were unable to act the part of even an honeſt black man. The Indians imagine the corruption is become too general to be cured, without a thorough change of our laws of war, becauſe when the head is ſick, the feet cannot be well: and as our capital towns and regular troops are much infected with that depreſſing and ſhameful malady, they reckon our country places ſuffer much more by our fat fine men. They fail not to flouriſh away as much in their own favour, as againſt us,

ſaying,

ſaying, that though they are unſkilful in making the marks of our ugly lying books, which ſpoil people's honeſty, yet they are duly taught in the honeſt volumes of nature, which always whiſper in their ears, a ſtrong leſſon of love to all of their own family, and an utter contempt of danger in defence of their beloved country, at their own private coſt; that they confer titles of honour only on thoſe who deſerve them,—that the ſpeaking trophies of war declare the true merit of their contented warriors, without having the leaſt recourſe to any borrowed help. They ſay, that the virtue even of their young women does not allow them to bear the leaſt regard to any of the young men, on account of their glittering clothes, and that none of their warriors would expect it, nor their laws allow it, if ever their country ſhould unhappily produce ſo contemptible an animal. Imitation is natural, and the red people follow virtue in the old track of their honeſt fore-fathers, while we are bewildered by evil cuſtom.

As their own affairs lie in a very narrow circle, it is difficult to impreſs them with a favourable opinion of the wiſdom and juſtice of our voluminous laws—They ſay, if our laws were honeſt, or wiſely framed, they would be plain and few, that the poor people might underſtand and remember them, as well as the rich—That right and wrong, an honeſt man and a rogue, with as many other names as our large crabbed books could contain, are only two contraries; that ſimple nature enables every perſon to be a proper judge of promoting good, and preventing evil, either by determinations, rewards, or puniſhments; and that people cannot in juſtice be accuſed of violating any laws, when it is out of their power to have a proper knowledge of them. They reckon, that if our legiſlators were not moved by ſome oblique views, inſtead of acting the part of mud-fiſh, they would imitate the ſkilful bee, and extract the uſeful part of their unwieldy, confuſed, old books, and inſert it in an honeſt ſmall one, that the poor people might be able to buy, and read it, to enable them to teach their riſing families to avoid ſnares, and keep them from falling into the power of our cunning ſpeakers—who are not aſhamed to ſcold and lie publickly when they are well paid for it, but if intereſt no longer tempted them to inforce hurtful lies for truth, would probably throw away all their dangerous quibbling books.—That the poor people might have eaſy redreſs and juſtice, this ſhould become a public concern, and the Go-nor-Minggo, all the head warriors, and old beloved men, ſhould either entirely deſtroy thoſe books, or in an artful manner ſend them to their enemy the French, in order to deſtroy their conſtitution: but they were of opinion, common ſenſe would not allow even thoſe to receive them, under any pretence whatſoever—therefore they ought to be burnt in the old year's accurſed fire. By that means, the honeſt poor could live in peace and quiet; for now they were unable by poverty, or backward by their honeſty, to buy juſtice, in paying thoſe people of cunning heads and ſtrong mouths to ſpeak the truth: and the hearts of rich knaves muſt then become honeſt, as they would not needleſsly give thoſe large bribes, for painting their black actions with a white colour.

They urge, that while litigious, expenſive, and tedious ſuits are either encouraged by our artful ſpeakers, or allowed by our legiſlators, the honeſt poor man will always be a great loſer; which is a crying evil. Becauſe he is humble, modeſt, and poor, his feeble voice cannot be heard. The combined body of the noiſy rich muſt drown his complaints. His only ſatisfaction is, that his heart is honeſt, though that muſt prove very ſmall comfort to a wife crying over helpleſs children, in a ſmall waſte houſe. They ſay, that as no people are born rogues, truth appears plain enough; for its native dreſs is always ſimple, and it never reſides in troubled waters, but under the ſtriking beams of the ſun. It is not therefore juſt, either to compel, or tempt people to buy juſtice; it ſhould be free to all, as the poor are not able to purchaſe it.

They affirm, that as all laws ſhould be enacted by the joint voice of the honeſt part of the ſociety for mutual good, if our great chieftain and his aſſiſtants refuſe altering thoſe that are hurtful to the people, we ought to ſet them aſide on account of their ill principles, and for ſtriving to ſupport their own bad actions, by bad laws—that as wiſe free-men, we ſhould with all ſpeed chuſe honeſt men in their room, to act the part of fathers of their country, and continue them juſt as long as they behaved ſuch: for leading men are choſen only to do good to the people; and whenever they make a breach of their truſt, injuring the public good, their places of courſe become vacant, and juſtly devolve to the people, who conferred them. Our law, they ſay, condemns little rogues, but why ſhould it ſpare great ones? That we hang the former with ſtrong ropes of hemp, but we ſhould firſt do ſo to, or ſhorten the heads of, the latter, with a poiſoned tomohawk, as a juſt emblem of their miſchievous poiſoning conduct.

I told them, that the eſſential part of our laws was fixed and unalterable, and alſo the ſucceſſion of each of our great chieftains, while they obſerve them faithfully, and order them to be honeſtly executed, but no longer. That formerly when the people's hearts became ſorely aggrieved, and bitterly vexed, as pride for unlimited power, had made ſome of the rulers heads giddy, the enraged community had ſhortened ſome of them, and drove away others from corrupting the beloved land, without any poſſibility of returning in ſafety. May none of our preſent or future ſtateſmen, by wilful miſconduct, and bad principles, be ever forced to appear at the dreadful bar of an abuſed and enraged community! for as they mete, ſo it will ſurely be meted to them again. The Indian ſyſtem ſeems to coincide with the grand fundamental law—"A natura lex, a virtute rex;" which the great conqueror of the eaſt feelingly declared in his laſt moments to be juſt, by willing his crown to him who moſt excelled in virtue.

The ill opinion they entertain of our courts of judicature, may have riſen in ſome degree from the wrong information of our interpreters, who have occaſionally accompanied them to the courts: but they generally retain a long time the firſt impreſſions they imbibe from any one they eſteem One law cauſe which the Chikkaſah attended, proved tedious, and was carried contrary to their opinion of juſtice and equity: on their return to their own country, they ſaid, that two or three of their old women would have brought in a quicker, and honeſter verdict. They compared our counſellors to the mercenary Choktah, who often kill people, and even one another, for the ſake of a French reward, as they earneſtly ſtrove to draw ſuffering truth to their own ſide of the debate, and painted it contrary to its native form, with a deformed lying face.

They tell us, that when their head-men are deliberating on public affairs, they diſpaſſionately examine things, and always ſpeak the naked truth; for its honeſt face hates a maſk, having nothing to hide from a ſearching eye, and its dreſs plain and ſimple; that people can as eaſily diſtinguiſh it from falſhood, as light from darkneſs, or clear and wholeſome water from that which is turbid and hurtful, without giving up their reaſon to hired ſpeakers, who uſe their ſquint eyes and forked tongues like the chieftains of the ſnakes, (meaning rattle-ſnakes) which deſtroy harmleſs creatures for the ſake of food. They ſay, that the quotation of dark quibbles out of their old books, ſhould be deemed as white paint over a black man's face; or as black over one that is naturally white. They wonder that, as an honeſt cauſe is always plain, judgment is not given freely in its favour, and without the leaſt delay; and inſiſt, that every bad cauſe ſhould meet with a ſuitable and ſevere award, in order to check vice, and promote virtue in ſocial life.

One of the red Magi aſked me, whether in our ſcolding houſes, we did not always proportion the charges of the ſuit in debate, to the value of the debt, or damages. Suggeſting that it was wrong to make a perplexed ſcience of granting equity with any charges attending it, to honeſt poor people; that we ſhould pity them on account of the diſtreſſes they labour under, and not in effect enſlave or fine them becauſe they are poor.

I told him and the reſt of his brethren by way of excuſe, that the different nature, and multiplicity of contracts in our great trading empire, with the immenſe difference that often happened between the eloquence and abilities of the contending parties, required a ſeries of deciſions of right and wrong to be recorded in books, as an invariable precedent to direct future public determinations, in diſputes of the like nature; that moſt of our people were more unequal to each other in fine language than the bred lawyers; and that none were ſo fit to ſearch, or could poſſibly underſtand thoſe regiſters as well as they, becauſe they ſpent the chief part of their time on ſuch ſubjects. He granted that they might be uſeful members of the community, but doubted their honeſty was too much expoſed to the alluring temptations of our rich people's yellow ſtone; and that though our fore-fathers were no doubt as wiſe and virtuous as we, yet they were but men, and ſometimes had paſſions to gratify, eſpecially in favour of a worthy and unfortunate friend, or relation, who was beloved. He ſaid, the length of ſtealing time muſt have naturally occaſioned ſuch an event; and that our wiſe men ought to be ſo far from quoting a wrong copy, as a fixed precedent, that they ſhould eraſe it out of their old court books, and profit by the foibles of the old, the wiſe and the good.

At his requeſt, I ſpoke alſo of our ſkilful phyſicians and quack-doctors—I told him that the former commonly cured the ſick, or diſeaſed, unleſs the malady was of an uncommon nature, or very dangerous by not applying in time, before it took root beyond the reach of any cure; but that the empirics ſeldom failed of poiſoning their weak patients by ſlow degrees; and that we had old women likewiſe who frequently did much good with bare ſimples. He ſaid, if our phyſicians uſed ſimples in due time, to aſſiſt nature, inſtead of burning corroſive mixtures, they would have no occaſion to diſmember poor people, cutting off their limbs in ſo horrid a manner, as ſeveral were reported to do; and that, if our law was ſo weak as not to condemn thoſe to death, who took away the lives of low innocent people, yet the ſtrong feelings of nature ought to incite the ſurviving relations of the murdered perſons, to revenge their blood on the murderers, by beating them with long knobbed poles, while they were ſenſible of pain, and as ſoon as they recovered a little, to cut off their ears and noſe with a dull knife, as in the caſe of adultery, in order to quench innocent blood, and teach unwary people to avoid and deteſt the execrated criminals. Here, the red audience highly applauded the wiſdom and juſtice of his medical obſervations, becauſe they exactly correſponded with their own ſtandard in ſimilar caſes.

Well, ſaid he, you have given us plainly to underſtand the high eſteem the Engliſh bear to their people of cunning heads and ſtrong mouths, and to the curers of ailments—If the former continue honeſt when they have gained deep knowledge in their old books; and the latter are ſucceſsful in the killing, or healing quality of their ſtrong medicines: We ſhould rejoice, if you would likewiſe inform us, according to your written traditions, of the firſt riſe of *Oobache*, "bringers of rain," and of *Iſhtohoollo Echeto*, "high-prieſts, popes, or arch-biſhops;" whether the ſupreme fatherly chieftain gave them from the beginning to the white people, or if not, how he came to give them afterward; and whether their lives give virtuous leſſons to youth, to induce them to a ſtrict obſervance of the divine law, as modeſty and humility ſhould always appear in the ſpeech and behaviour of public teachers, on account of their charming influence—Inform us of their uſefulneſs in religious and civil life, and the general opinion of the diſintereſted and wiſe part of the community concerning them;

as all nations of red people have lately heard a great deal of their unpeaceable, if not cruel diſpoſition towards the Britiſh Americans, which their covetouſneſs of heart, it is ſaid, prompted them to, becauſe they could not prevail upon them by their invented ſpeeches, to give them the tenth part of the yearly produce of their honeſt labour—Let us know their true conduct over the broad water, whether they are covetous in demanding any part of the new harveſt; and if the young people do not violate the marriage-law when the crops fail by the want of refreſhing rains?

As the taſk was diſagreeable, I told him, had he been ſo particular in his enquiries concerning the two former claſſes, I could have much better informed him, as I had the pleaſure of being long acquainted with many of them, who were learned, wiſe and benevolent, in a very great degree; and was convinced from my own knowledge, that ſeveral of them, not only ſpoke earneſtly for honeſt poor people, and others cured them of their lingering ailments, without pay; but ſupplied them with needful utenſils for planting proviſions for their ſmall families, till they could conveniently repay the value, in their own produce: but that as I neither had nor deſired the leaſt acquaintance with any of our high-placed beloved men, I was very unfit to handle ſuch a long ſtring of queries. He ſaid, my denying to gratify their curioſity on ſo material a point, ſerved only to raiſe it the higher; eſpecially as I had given them a very favourable opinion of the gentlemen of the other two claſſes; and he hoped, the religious men were at leaſt as virtuous as thoſe, their ſacred office requiring them to give an honeſt copy to all others, as the young people imbibed from their teachers example, either good or bad principles, which muſt benefit or injure themſelves, and the community. He ſo earneſtly importuned me to comply with his requeſt, that, as an Indian divine, I thus addreſſed the attentive red congregation.

In paſt ages, moſt part of all nations of people ſunk into ignorance not only of the old beloved ſpeech, (or divine law) but of the very being of the great, ſupreme, holy Spirit; upon which account, the glimmering image impreſt on their hearts, directed them to worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars, becauſe of their beneficial and powerful influence,—and the fire, light, and air, the three divine names and emblems. By degrees, they choſe an idol-god of ſuch reputed qualities, as beſt ſuited with their own tempers, and the ſituation of their various countries, in order to receive temporal good things, and avert the oppoſite evils. In the length of forgetting time, they became ſo exceedingly ſtupid, as to worſhip vegetables, frightful and ſhameful images, filthy beaſts, and dangerous ſnakes. Self-love ſeemed to have induced them to adore the two laſt through fear, and the bird alſo that preyed on them, became the object of their adoration. In this miſerable ſtate of darkneſs the world was involved, when the ſupreme fatherly chieftain, through tender pity to human weakneſs, appeared to your reputed anceſtors, in the form of a blazing fire, renewed his old divine laws with one of their beloved men, and confirmed the whole, with dreadful thunders, lightnings, and other ſtriking prodigies, to impreſs them with a deep awe and reverence of his majeſty. In time, they built a moſt magnificent beloved houſe, wonderful in its form, and for the great variety of beloved utenſils, and emblems it contained. The ark was one of the three moſt divine ſymbols in it. *Iſhtohoollo Eloha* became their chieftain, both at home, and at war. A wonderful emanation of the holy fire reſided in the great divine houſe, while they liſtened to the voice of *Loache*, " the prophets," which the holy chieftain ſent to them in ſucceſſion, to teach them his will as the fixt rule of all his actions. While their hearts continued honeſt, he enabled them to conquer their enemies, and to gain victories over formidable armies, which like the ſwarms of buzzing inſects in your low lands, could not be numbered, and at length ſettled them in as happy a ſtate as they could reaſonably wiſh for.

A little before that time, he called himſelf *A-Do-Ne-Yo*, *Minggo Iſhtohoollo*, " the divine chief;" but then, to your enlightened (and reputed) anceſtors, *Yo-He-Wah*, which ſignifies, " he lived always, and will never die." It is he, whom you invoke in your ſacred ſongs when you are drinking your cuſſeena, and you derived that awful invocation, and your ark of war, from them. He is the author of life and death, and conſequently, the " maſter of our breath," as the red people juſtly term him. He gave them *Loache* and *Oobache*, " Prophets and aſkers of rain," and preſcribed to them laws that were ſuitable for their own government. They chiefly conſiſted of ſacred emblems of an early divine promiſe to mankind, which he faithfully performed; and when the end was anſwered,

thoſe

thoſe ſymbols ceaſed. The people were enjoined a very ſtrict purity, both in civil and religious life, eſpecially all the prieſts or beloved men; and in a particular manner, the great beloved man, or high prieſt. He was to be equally perfect in body, and pure in heart—and was not allowed to touch the dead, as their bodies were in a corrupting ſtate. The old beloved ſpeech aſſures us, he was appointed as a repreſentative of the people to *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, and as a lively emblem of an extraordinary divine perſon, who was to be ſent to inſtruct the whole earth, and purify them from all their pollutions; which the ſupreme fatherly chieftain will enable us fully to inform you of, in due time. He came according to divine appointment, taught the people, as never man did before, cured them of their various ailments, even the lame and the blind, by the power of his word, and a bare touch. He had ſo great a command over nature, that through pity to the tender tears of the people, he awaked ſome who had ſlept a conſiderable time in the grave, in a warm country. They, who ſtrove to leſſen the merit of the ſurpriſing miracles he wrought, were not ſo weak as to deny the well known truth of them, as they had been performed at different places, and on different occaſions, before a great many people, under the light of the ſun, and were laſting. At laſt, he, as an uncommon kindly friend, gave up his innocent life to ſave his enemies from the burning wrath of the holy fire: and, while the anger of *Loache Iſhtohoollo* lay very ſharp on him, as the atoning victim, and his enemies were tormenting him with the moſt exquiſite tortures, he earneſtly ſpoke the beloved ſpeech, and entreated in their favour, that he would not let his heart be croſs with, nor revenge his blood upon them, as they imagined they were acting according to the divine law. As ſoon as that great beloved meſſenger died, all nature felt a prodigious ſhock. The graves opened, and the dead aroſe to ſee the cauſe of that alarming prodigy. The earth ſhook, the rocks burſt aſunder, the ſun, contrary to the ſtated courſe of nature, was immediately darkened, the great beloved houſe rent aſunder, and its guardian angels flew off to other countries: his death alſo exceedingly deſtroyed the power of *Nana Ookproo*, the evil ſpirits. On the third day, the maſter of breath awaked that great chieftain, prophet, and high prieſt, according to his former true ſpeech; and when he aroſe, he was ſeen by multitudes of people, and fulfilled the old divine law, and confirmed every thing he formerly taught his humble, and kind hearted ſcholars.

Till then, there were only twelve of them; but afterwards more were appointed in that religious ſtation. They urged, that their ſacred office, and the faithful diſcharge of all the duties attending it, engaged their cloſe attention, and deſerved an honeſt maintainance; but to check a covetous ſpirit among all beloved men of every rank, they freely ſpoke the beloved ſpeech through every known country of the world, and maintained themſelves by their own induſtry. As they travelled, eat, drank, and converſed daily with the great divine meſſenger, he perfectly taught them the divine law, which your ſuppoſed anceſtors had received under very ſtrong emblems. After his death, they ſpoke it with great boldneſs, and a moſt amazing power. They truly marked down on paper, moſt of the ſpeeches and actions of their beloved maſter and themſelves, without concealing their own foibles, for our inſtruction: and a great many true copies of them are tranſmitted over every quarter of the world, in different languages, which agree together, and with thoſe early beloved books; though it is more than ſeventeen hundred years, ſince they were firſt drawn out by thoſe beloved ſcholars. As their hearts were warmed in a very high degree, by the holy ſpirit of fire, the moral part of their lives were free from blemiſh, after the death of their maſter. In imitation of him, they ſuffered all kinds of hardſhips, difficulties, and dangers of life, that human beings could undergo, merely through a principle of divine love working in them, for the general good of mankind; they cured the ſick and diſeaſed, and taught every one the true beloved ſpeech, to purify them. As they were not proud, they were not drawn with beautiful prancing horſes, in coſtly moving houſes, but walked after the manner of their divine maſter, and inſtructed the attentive people, by their humble example, and honeſt leſſons, in the moſt aſſured hope of receiving from *Iſhtohoollo Aba*, a reward equal to their virtues, after they died, knowing they were to live anew in a happy ſtate, free from the power of death. In this manner, they, by the earneſt beloved ſpeech of the great divine meſſenger, were cheerfully content, and firmly truſted in the goodneſs of the fatherly chieftain. Indeed, ſoon after they entered into their ſacred office, they were jealous of their maſter's giving preference to one, before the other of them; but he gave a ſtrong leſſon of humility and kindneſs for them, and all ſucceeding beloved men to purſue, by waſhing and wiping their feet with his own hands: and he aſſured them *Iſhtohoollo* would always eſteem them moſt, who acted beſt.

All thoſe beloved men, who do not join in religious communion with *Oobache Iſhtohoollo*, tell us, that ancient records affirm, all of the prieſtly order (after the death of the divine meſſenger) were equal in their religious office, that deference excepted, which is always due to a virtuous ſeniority—and that as wiſdom and virtue equally accompany either youth, middle, or old age, they continued in that brotherly ſtate of religious ſimplicity, according to the true copy of the humble, all-loving, and beloved meſſenger, for the ſpace of three hundred years after that period—and that, as the ſpeech of the great divine meſſenger was marked in a copious language, which abounded with various words to expreſs the ſame thing, the names of old men, overſeers and biſhops, ſignify one and the ſame rank of beloved men of the beloved houſe, according to the former humble conduct of their divine maſter; but that the words are now tortured through mercenary views, contrary to the plain ſimplicity of the primitive teachers. As holy things, and white emblems, are eaſily polluted and tarniſhed by people of impure hearts, and unclean hands, the divine law began then to loſe its quickening influence over the beloved men of thoſe large countries, where the ſun riſes out of the broad water. Their diſputes ran high, and the longer they laſted, the ſharper they grew. They, at laſt, referred them to the deciſion of the beloved men, toward the place where the daily ſun is drowned in the great ſalt water, which is called Rome. As in affairs of ſtate, ſo in religion, a remarkable precedent begets a cuſtom, and this becomes a law with ſocieties. In conſequence thereof, an order of ſuperior beloved men laid hold of this, and ſtretched the divine ſpeech, ſo as to anſwer their own mercenary views.

In proceſs of time, there ſprung up a pretended great bringer of rain, who, like the hurtful ſpirits of corrupt darkneſs, by rejecting the divine ſpeech, and deſpiſing the example of the holy meſſenger and his ſcholars, ſet up arrogantly for himſelf, againſt the ſupreme chieftain of the rain and thunder, claimed the tenth baſket-full of the new harveſt according to the obſolete law of your ſuppoſed anceſtors, and even forgave adulterers, thieves, liars, inceſtuous perſons, and thoſe who accompanied with women in their lunar retreats, without any ſort of purification, if they only paid him ſuch a quantity of yellow ſtone, as he proportioned to the various degrees of each crime they committed. To enrich himſelf by their weakneſs, his whole tribe of black-dreſſed miſſionaries, by ſtrict order, frightened the ignorant and credulous, with the wild notion of wandering after death in the accurſed place of darkneſs, without any poſſibility of avoiding that dreadful fate, unleſs they revealed all their crimes to them, and paid them a fixed price. Becauſe pride and envy had ſpoiled ſome of the ſpirits above, and made them accurſed beings; therefore, the meſſenger of *Iſhtohoollo*, as I told you, ſtrongly checked the like diſpoſition in its firſt appearance among his ſcholars. But the pride of the Romiſh chieftain, and deſire of abſolute religious and civil power, became ſo unbounded, as to claim an unlimited authority over all the great chieftains on earth; and he boaſted of being ſo highly actuated by the unerring divine wiſdom, as to know and do every thing perfectly. He, at the ſame time, ordered all his ſcholars to involve the people in thick clouds of darkneſs, and impreſs them with a firm belief, that ignorance produces virtue. He invented a third ſtate for the ſake of his temporal intereſt, fixing it half way between people's favourite place of living anew, and that of the horrible darkneſs, which was to be a vomiting or purging ſtate of the dead, and called it purgatory; where the dead muſt unavoidably call, and be detained, till ſurviving relations ſatisfied them for their enlargement. He became ſo highly intoxicated by pride and power, that he erected images of ſuch dead people as moſt reſembled himſelf, with various other objects for the living to invoke, inſtead of the great eternal *Yo He Wah*, whom you ſupplicate in your religious invocations: and he marked for his black ſcholars, a great many very evil ſpeeches, and ſpoke them with a ſtrong mouth and ill heart, and enforced them by ſwords and fiery faggots, contrary to the old beloved ſpeech which was confirmed by the anointed meſſenger.

At length, the holy ſpirit of fire influenced two great beloved men in particular, according to a former prediction, to ſpeak to the people with a ſtrong mouth, as witneſſes of the divine truth. Their ears were honeſt in hearing the old beloved ſpeech, and it ſunk deep into their hearts. But a great many ſuperſtitious cuſtoms ſtill remained, for had they aimed at a perfect eſtabliſhment of the divine law in their religious worſhip, probably the high placed religious men through a covetous ſpirit would have oppoſed the reformation with all their might; as very few of them endeavoured to teach the young people, by honeſt examples, to live a virtuous life, or enabled them to get refreſhing ſhowers from *Iſhtohoollo Aba* to make plentiful harveſts—and yet they claimed a great part of it, and even of the ſeed corn, without the leaſt exemption of the poor, contrary to the tender feelings even of our indigent warriors and great canoe men, who ſtretch out a kindly hand to their poor brethren. That part of the old beloved ſpeech, the tenth baſket-full, was calculated only for your ſuppoſed predeceſſors, who conſiſted of twelve families; one of which was devoted to the divine ſervice. Therefore, they were allowed ſome part of the religious offerings, and of the yearly produce of the land, to make their own and their families hearts rejoice, and at the ſame time to keep them humble, and make them hoſpitable to the widow, the fatherleſs, and the ſtranger. They, like the humble ſcholars of the great beloved meſſenger, were always poor; they honeſtly minded their religious duty, and were not allowed to purchaſe any land, nor to expoſe their virtue to the temptations of heaping up yellow ſtone, or employing their minds on any thing, except the divine law.

The lives and manners of the early teachers of the ſpeech of the divine meſſenger, as I before told you, were alſo ſtrictly juſt and blameleſs. They equally taught by precept and example; and their leſſons, like thoſe of their great maſter, were plain, ſimple, and holy. They were humble in their behaviour, and moderate in their apparel, food, and drink, and faithful in the diſcharge of their religious office: inſtead of aſſuming the arrogant title of divine chieftains, they honeſtly gave themſelves the lowly name of *Intookſare Iſhtohoollo*, " Servants of God," in imitation of the life, precept, and example of the holy meſſenger, which ſtrongly actuated their honeſt hearts. When they were weary after the toils of the day, by inſtructing the people, and working at their trade, as your beloved men do, they joyfully reſted themſelves in their humble cottages, and refreſhed themſelves with their homely fare; and there they inſtructed the young people to invoke *Yo-He-Wah*, and ſpeak the divine ſpeech. In this religious manner, they ſpent their time through various countries, by the direction of divine wiſdom, as a ſtrong pointed leſſon to all ſucceeding beloved men to purſue, and they ſealed the truth with their blood—ſuch were the primitive teachers of the divine word. They lived and died in a ſtate of equality; and were there any different degrees to be obſerved in the holy office of religion, learning and piety ſhould recommend poor beloved men to the high ſeats of profit—but only toilſome places are now allotted them, with an allowance inſufficient to ſupport themſelves, ſo that they cannot ſtretch out their kindly hand to the poor.

The mouths and hearts of the ſuperior beloved men in our day, ſhamefully contradict one another, to the diſcredit of the lively copy of the holy meſſenger and his beloved ſcholars, and the great danger of infecting thoſe of inferior rank, by ſo pernicious and corrupt an example; for it is natural for the feet to follow the direction of the head. They were formerly a very inſolent, covetous, and troubleſome ſet; and being advanced by rich friends to the high ſounding office of *Mingo Iſhtohoollo*, "Divine chieftains," or in their own ſtile, "Right Reverend Fathers in God," princes and ſupporters of the church, great was their arrogance and power—taking advantage of the corruption of the times, they grafted themſelves into the civil conſtitution, and to preſerve their high and profitable places they became the fixed and ſtrenuous ſupporters of courts, in all their meaſures. But they will very ſoon be purified. The beloved ſpeech of *Iſhotoollo* of old, has announced it, and that is always true. It has pointed to the preſent and approaching time, which is near to the end of meaſured time.

To ſhew you how well prepared thoſe prieſtly princes are for that trying period, I ſhall give you the general opinion of the wiſe and honeſt people, on this and the other ſide of the broad water; by which you will ſee how far they agree with, or differ from, the original copy of the plain honeſt ſcholars of the anointed holy meſſenger.

They boaſt themſelves to be the embaſſadors of the holy chieftain of the high church. They dwell in coſtly great houſes, after the ſuperb manner of our great civil chieftain; and they give them the ſame lofty name, Palaces, to diſtinguiſh them from the dwelling-houſes of other mortals. Their dreſs is equally rich and ſingular, to ſtrike the eye, and impreſs the hearts of the vulgar with a profound reverence of the divine prieſtly wearers. They have the revenue of princes to ſupport their grandeur; and they are moſt exact in having it collected by litigious mercenaries, even to the tenth of the hive of bees, and of the unlawful and filthy young ſwine; and yet they act the part of *Phobe Iſhto*, "Great drones, or drones of God," as ſoon as they obtain their rich high ſeat, not ſpeaking the divine ſpeech to the people hardly three times a year. Their food conſiſts of a great variety of the choiceſt, and moſt delicious ſorts of fiſh, fleſh, and fowl; their drink is of the richeſt white, yellow, and red grape water, with other coſtly liquors which your language cannot expreſs.

They reſort to the moſt gay aſſemblies in the world, for the ſake of pleaſure, leaving the multitude to the divine care, or the ſpeakings of poor religious men who are hired at low wages to do their duty, as they themſelves have enough to mind and ſecure properly temporal concerns. In this manner, do theſe lamps ſhine, and ſpend their days and nights, like the great chieftains of the earth; and when they die, their bodies are laid apart from the reſt of mankind, in poliſhed and coſtly tombs, adorned with nice ſtrokes of art, to perpetuate their names—the long train of virtues they ſo highly poſſeſſed—their great learning and eloquence—the ſimplicity of their lives and manners—their faithful diſcharge of the various duties of their religious high office—their contempt of the grandeur and vanities of this tranſient world—their tenderneſs of heart to the cries of the poor; and their ſingular modeſty and humility, a ſhining copy of imitation for common prieſts, and other ſpiritual chieftains, to purſue. Theſe fine monuments are very pleaſant to the eye, but honeſt men ſay that mercenary writers and artiſts do not act right to belie the dead.

My red beloved friends, ſuch is the reputed life and death of thoſe high-ſeated divine chieftains of the high church; your ſharp natural reaſon will diſcern the cloſe agreement there is between the humility and ſimplicity of their principles and lives, with thoſe of the early overſeers of the lowly divine houſe. It is ſaid that ſome great beloved men have an earneſt deſire of ſending a few of their own high office, to this ſide of the broad water, in order to appoint young beloved men; but we ſtrongly ſuſpect a dangerous ſnake in the graſs; and eſteeming them dead to the true intereſts of religion and liberty, we think they ought to keep them at home, and even recall their preſent troubleſome miſſionaries from our ſettlements, and allow us to enjoy our former peace and quiet—We wiſh them to go to ſome poor dark countries, and inſtruct the people in the honeſt leſſons of peace, love, and charity; which they would, if they only aimed at the good of mankind, and the honour of the ſupreme chieftain, according to the plain copy of the great beloved meſſenger and his kind-hearted faithful ſcholars. We wiſh the civil powers would not tempt the religious men's virtue by ſuch alluring delicious baits, as they propoſe to them, and that all ranks would become frugal and virtuous.

Thus ended my Lecture. The reverend old red pontiff immediately aſked, whether they had the accurſed beings on the other ſide of the water? I told him, I hoped not—but the religious men often ſpoke a ſtrong ſpeech of evil to thoſe they reckoned very bad, and turned them out of the beloved houſe, to the evil ſpirits of darkneſs. Upon which he requeſted me to mention any one of the crimes that might occaſion ſuch treatment. I told him, "I had heard of a gentleman, whoſe heart did not allow him to love his lady ſufficiently, and ſhe having by ſharp watching diſcovered him to give love to another, complained of it to a great beloved man; accordingly, either for the neglect, or wrong application of his love duty, he was ordered to pay her a conſiderable ſum of money—he valuing it more than her, his heart did not allow him to give ſo much: whereupon a ſharp ſpeech of evil was ſpoken againſt him, and by that means he was ſaid to become accurſed." My Indian friend ſaid, as marriage ſhould beget joy and happineſs, inſtead of pain and miſery, if a couple married blindfold, and could not love each other afterwards, it was a crime to continue together, and a virtue to part, and make a happier choice; and as the white people did not buy their wives after the manner of the Indians, but received value along with them, in proportion to their own poſſeſſions, whatſoever the woman brought with her, ſhe ought to be allowed to take back when they ſeparated, that her heart might weigh even, and nothing be ſpoiled.—That, in his opinion, ſuch determinations belonged to the law, and not to the great beloved men; and, if he underſtood me aright, the beloved man threw away the gentleman to the accurſed beings of darkneſs, not for having acted any thing againſt the divine law, but for daring to oppoſe the words of his mouth, in imitation of the firſt preſumptuous great beloved man, who ſpoiled the ſpeech of the divine meſſenger. Many natural, pertinent, and humorous obſervations, were made by him on what he had heard.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ADVICE TO STATESMEN;

SHEWING

The advantages of mutual affection between Great Britain, and the North American colonies—A deſcription of the Floridas, and the Miſſiſippi lands, with their productions—The benefits of colonizing Georgiana, and civilizing the Indians—and the way to make all the colonies more valuable to the mother country.

APPENDIX.

ADVICE TO STATESMEN.

THOUGH Great Britain hath been many years inveſted with the Miſſiſipi-poſſeſſions, and which ſhe purchaſed at a very high price; little hath been done to improve them. Every friend to his country and mankind, muſt wiſh adminiſtration to pay a due regard to the ineſtimable value of the American colonies—which is beſt done in engaging the coloniſts, by wiſe and prudent conduct, to exert themſelves to promote her intereſt in the ſame manner they faithfully did, till arbitrary power aſſailed their maritime ports, to their grief, and her own immenſe loſs. In proportion as a mother loves, or hates her children, and ſtrives to make them either happy or miſerable, they in the ſame degree will exert their endeavours to make a ſuitable return.

Whatever ſcheme is unjuſt, it is unwiſe in ſtateſmen to form, or attempt to put in execution. Inſtinct moves the brutal creation to defend their young ones and property at the peril of their lives. The virtue of Britons will not allow them to do leſs for themſelves and their children. As Britiſh legiſlators muſt be convinced that honeſty is the beſt policy, it is to be hoped they will ſtudiouſly apply themſelves to promote the general good of their fellow-ſubjects, and engage the northern coloniſts cheerfully to bend their force in ſupplying Great Britain with ſuch ſtaple commodities as bountiful nature has given to them, but which through a ſtrange kind of policy, ſhe now chiefly purchaſes from foreigners, particularly timber and iron. The North-American trees are better in quality, than thoſe which are brought from the Baltic, and in a far greater variety: and ſhips of a proper conſtruction, might ſoon carry American timber to England as cheap as ſhe has it from thence The coloniſts could build either merchant-men, or men of war, of any ſize, much cheaper than can poſſibly be done in any European country, which would always inſure them a ready market. French gold for their ſhips, would be of no diſſervice to Great Britain, though perhaps it might be as diſagreeable to her, as the Spaniſh gold and ſilver was from the hands of the Britiſh Americans: however, to conſign their ſhips to ſome Britiſh merchants, would ſufficiently ſilence thoſe who might find their preſent account in oppoſing the public good.

Natural cauſes produce natural effects. They who ſow well, reap well; and as nature has planted a great plenty of iron ore through the American high lands, we hope the time will ſoon come, to allow her to take in ſo weighty a harveſt. The conſequence is great, and the application ought to be proportioned to the high value of ſo inviting, and complicated an acquiſition. Their hills not only abound with inexhauſtible mines of iron ore, but lie convenient to navigable rivers; ſuch a commodious ſituation would ſoon enable them to ſell it cheaper than Britain can ever expect from the Ruſſians, who carry it from a diſtance to Peterſburgh, as far as from Georgiana on the Miſſiſippi, to the city of New York. We have been aſſured by gentlemen of veracity, that on repeated experiments, they found the American iron to be equal in goodneſs to that of Ruſſia, or Sweden. Common ſenſe directs Britain to live independent of ſuch ſupplies, within her own prodigious empire, and not lay herſelf at the mercy of any foreign power, leſt neceſſity ſhould compel her a ſecond time, to pay as dear for her left-handed wiſdom as ſhe did in the year 1703, for Swediſh tar in Swediſh bottoms,—which was nearly four hundred per cent. more than ſhe in a ſhort time paid to the American planters for the like, with her own manufactures, to the advantage of her merchants, the employment of her ſhips, and the increaſe of her ſeamen.

If Britain feels a decay of her former American trade, on account of attempting to introduce among her friendly colonies, illegal and dangerous innovations, it is high time to retract. She hath it yet in her power by a prudent and maternal conduct to enlarge her trade, to a far greater extent than it ever attained, by making it the intereſt of the northern planters to ſaw timber, and work in iron, for the Britiſh yards and merchants. She ſhould invite the young, and unſettled families, to remove to the fertile lands of the Miſſiſippi, and raiſe thoſe valuable ſtaple commodities ſhe needs moſt. The Americans ſay, that, though their hearts burn with a ſeraphic fire, for conſtitutional bleſſings—ever ſacred and inviolable; yet their tender feelings for the unhappy ſituation of their free-minded brethren in Great Britain and Ireland, are by ſympathy, equal to their own for the ſickened condition of their mourning provinces—that the fraternal tye will always incline their hearts to promote their welfare, if inſtead of endeavouring to oppreſs them, they make them ſuch a return as brethren might juſtly expect on the like intereſting occaſion. If Britiſh legiſlators deſign to promote the true intereſts of their country, they will pay a ſteady regard to the real channel of her great wealth and power,—adopt ſuch meaſures, as wiſdom and honeſty readily direct to, and endeavour to diſpel thoſe uneaſineſſes from the hearts of all the American coloniſts, produced by the unjuſt and invidious repreſentations of men, whoſe garb and ſtation ought to have kept them, even from the ſuſpicion of ever fomenting ſo dangerous a controverſy.

Great Britain, on account of her extenſive American poſſeſſions, might ſoon and eaſily repair her decayed trade, and increaſe it beyond conception, on a ſure and permanent foundation, by upright meaſures. The oppoſite means to whatſoever cauſed its decay, would gradually recover it—But when once the channel of trade is ſtopped by violent methods, it is exceedingly difficult to make it flow again in its former cheerful courſe. Force can never effect it, for that ſhe utterly contemns. No miſtreſs is more ſagacious and coy. She muſt firſt be courted, and afterward treated kindly: if folly uſes any violence, or makes any material breach of good faith to her, ſhe ſoon flies, and never returns, unleſs ſhe is ſtrongly invited back, and can reaſonably hope for better uſage. A powerful maritime ſtate may gain new colonies by the ſword, but can never ſettle and continue ſuch extenſive ones as the American, by force of arms,—except over people of daſtardly ſpirits, and in the enfeebling regions of the ſouth. Even there, when the ſprings of the ſtate-machine are any conſiderable time over-ſtretched, the ſharp feelings of the people naturally rouſe, and force them to conquer their timorous diſpoſition, and exert their powers to break the torturing wheels, and free themſelves of their pains. The voice of nature is againſt tyranny. It execrates the abettors, and conſigns them to puniſhment.

As the lands in Virginia, and Maryland, are greatly exhauſted by raiſing that impoveriſhing weed, tobacco,—Great Britain may expect to feel a gradual decay of that valuable branch of trade, in proportion to the increaſe of the people in thoſe provinces, unleſs new colonies are ſettled on the Miſſiſippi. Beſides this tract, there is not a ſufficient ſpace of fertile land in North America, to invite planters to raiſe that ſtaple commodity. Though the Ohio ſettlements are now numerous, and increaſing faſt, the ſettlers will only conſult their own eaſe, as nature is there very prolific of every convenience of life; except government wiſely encourages them to raiſe ſuch products as would ſuit the mother-country, and reward them for their labour. Were proper meaſures adopted, the deſire of gain would induce them to plant with the utmoſt aſſiduity: and ſmiling induſtry would ſoon beget a ſpirit of emulation among the planters, prompting each to excel his neighbour in the annual quantity and good quality of thoſe ſtaple commodities they were invited to fix upon. The vaſt tracts of fertile woods, which are now ſhamefully allowed to be only the haunts of wild beaſts, and wolfiſh ſavages ſeeking for prey, might far eaſier be turned into valuable fine plantations by bounties, than the marſhes and barren lands in Britain were, into their preſent flouriſhing condition, by the repeated encouragements of the Royal Society, and of parliament. Any thing that promotes greatly the public good, ought always to be done at the expence of the public; otherwiſe it will never be done, eſpecially by labouring individuals. Charity begins at home, and every one's domeſtic affairs demand his cloſe attention. To preſerve the Ohio lands, coſt Great Britain, and our colonies in particular, a river of blood, in conſequence of the blindneſs and obſtinacy of a haughty general. A legal conſtitutional form of government, ought immediately to be eſtabliſhed there, both for the general welfare, and preventing evils that may reaſonably be expected to grow up among a remote, and numerous body of people,—hardy and warlike,—without any public religion or civil law,—in a healthful climate, and very extenſive and fertile country.

Young glittering courtiers may think their merit exceedingly depreciated, to have the offer of the Ohio government conferred on either of them—as it is now chiefly inhabited by long-legged, tawny hunters, who are clothed in winter with the ſhaggy ſkins of wild beaſts, and are utterly unlearned in the poliſhed art of ſmiling, when their hearts are diſpleaſed at the raſh conduct of high-headed rulers: but unleſs they learned the difficult leſſon, "know thyſelf," and were endued with a frank open ſpirit, experience would ſoon convince them that they were unequal to the taſk of governing, or inducing the people to promote the general good of the community. The court ſophiſtry of extending the prerogative of the crown, will never do in America—Nothing will pleaſe the inhabitants, but the old conſtitutional laws of Britain. Colonel Philip Skene, who gained wreaths of laurel under General Johnſon, and now lives at Lake Champlain, is highly eſteemed in the extenſive circle of his acquaintance, and revered by all his ſavage neighbours, becauſe in him is diſplayed the intrepid warrior, and the open friend to all.—Theſe, together with his knowledge of agriculture, render him as proper a perſon as any for the office—and it is to be wiſhed that the government would appoint him to preſide over the valuable diſtrict of Ohio, and he think proper to accept it. Such a meaſure could not fail of adding greatly to the true intereſts of Great-Britain and her colonies: thus, the preſent inhabitants would be incited to promote the public good, and multitudes of the northern people would remove to ſettle thoſe fruitful lands, and cheerfully apply themſelves in raiſing ſuch commodities, as would prove beneficial to the community. Though the Ohio is far diſtant from any navigable port, yet we have full proof that every article of luxury will bear great expence for its culture, carriage by land, and freight by water: and, as the fertility of the ſoil by the ſtream and ſmall branches of the Miſſiſippi, is well known through North America, and the coloniſts cannot remove there with their live ſtock, through the country of the miſchievous Muſkohge; doubtleſs numbers of induſtrious families would come by the Ohio, and ſoon enrich themſelves by increaſing the riches of the public.

Any European ſtate, except Great Britain, would at once improve their acquiſitions, taken and purchaſed by an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, and turn them to the public benefit. At the end of the late war, the miniſtry, and their adherents, held up Eaſt and Weſt Florida before the eyes of the public, as greatly ſuperior to thoſe Weſt-India iſlands, which Spain and France were to receive back in exchange. The iſlands however are rich, and annually add to the wealth and ſtrength of thoſe reſpective powers: while Eaſt Florida, is the only place of that extenſive and valuable tract ceded to us, that we have any way improved; and this is little more than a negative good to our other colonies, in preventing their negroes from ſheltering in that dreary country, under the protection of Fort St. Auguſtine. The province is a large peninſula, conſiſting chiefly of ſandy barrens; level ſour ground, abounding with tuſſucks; here and there is ſome light mixt land; but a number of low ſwamps, with very unwholeſome water in general. In proportion as it is cleared, and a free circulation of air is produced, to diſpel the noxious vapours that float over the ſurface of this low country, it may become more healthful; though any where out of the influence of the ſea air, the inhabitants will be liable to fevers and agues. The favourable accounts our military officers gave of the pure wholeſome air of St. Auguſtine, are very juſt, when they compare it with that of the ſand burning Penſacola, and the low ſtagnated Mobille: St. Auguſtine ſtands on a pleaſant hill, at the conflux of two ſalt water rivers, overlooking the land from three angles of the caſtle, and down the ſound, to the ocean. Their relation of the natural advantages of this country, could extend no farther than their marches reached. I formerly went volunteer, about ſix hundred miles through the country, with a great body of Indians againſt this place; and we ranged the woods to a great extent. The tracts we did not reach, we got full information of, by ſeveral of the Muſkohge then with us, who had a thorough knowledge, on account of the long continued excurſions they made through the country in queſt of the Florida Indians; and even after they drove them into the iſlands of Florida, to live on fiſh, among clouds of muſketoes. The method theſe Indians took to keep off thoſe tormenting inſects, as their ſafety would not allow them to make a fire, leſt the ſmoke ſhould guide their watchful enemies to ſurpriſe them, was, by anointing their bodies with rank fiſh oil, mixed with the juice or aſhes of indigo. This perfume, and its effluvia, kept off from them every kind of inſect. The Indians likewiſe informed me, that when they went to war againſt the Floridians, they carried their cypreſs bark canoes from the head of St. John's black river, only about half a mile, when they launched them again into a deep river, which led down to a multitude of iſlands to the N. W. of Cape Florida.

As this colony is inconteſtably much better ſituated for trade than Weſt Florida, or the Miſſiſippi lands, it is ſurpriſing that Britain does not improve the opportunity which offers, by adding to theſe unhealthy low grounds a ſufficient quantity of waſte high land to enable the ſettlers, and their families, to raiſe thoſe ſtaples ſhe wants. The Muſkohge who claim it, might be offered, and they would accept, what it ſeems to be worth in its wild ſtate. Juſtice to ourſelves and neighbours, condemns the ſhortening the planter's days, by confining their induſtrious families to unhealthy low lands, when nature invites them to come out, to enjoy her bountiful gifts of health and wealth, where only ſavage beaſts prey on one another, and the bloodier two-footed ſavages, ramble about to prey on them, or whatſoever falls in their way. Under theſe, and other preſſing circumſtances of a ſimilar nature, does this part of America now labour. A weſt north-weſt courſe from the upper parts of Georgia to the Miſſiſippi, would contain more fertile lands than are in all our colonies on the continent, eaſtward. As moſt of theſe colonies abound with frugal and induſtrious people, who are increaſing very faſt, and every year crowding more cloſely together on exhauſted land, our rulers ought not to allow ſo miſchievous and dangerous a body as the Muſkohge to ingroſs this vaſt foreſt, moſtly for wild beaſts. This haughty nation is directly in the way of our valuable ſouthern colonies, and will check them from riſing to half the height of perfection, which the favourableneſs of the ſoil and climate allow, unleſs we give them ſevere correction, or drive them over the Miſſiſippi, the firſt time they renew their acts of hoſtility againſt us, without ſufficient retaliation. At preſent, Weſt Florida is nothing but an expence to the public.—The name amuſes indeed, at a diſtance; but were it duly extended and ſettled, it would become very valuable to Great Britain; and Penſacola harbour would be then ſerviceable alſo in a time of war with Spain, being in the gulph of Florida, and near to Cuba. Mobille is a black trifle. Its garriſon, and that at Penſacola, cannot be properly ſupplied by their French neighbours though at a moſt exorbitant price: and, on account of our own paſſive conduct, the Muſkohge will not allow the inhabitants of Georgia to drive cattle to thoſe places for the uſe of the ſoldiers. Neither can the northern merchant-men ſupply them with ſalt and freſh proviſions, but at a very unequal hazard; for the gulph ſtream would oblige them to ſail along the Cuba ſhore, where they would be likely to be ſeized by the Spaniſh guarda coſtas, as have many fine American veſſels on the falſe pretence of ſmuggling, and which, by a ſtrange kind of policy, they have been allowed to keep as legal prizes. In brief, unleſs Great Britain enlarges both Eaſt and Weſt Florida to a proper extent, and adopts other encouraging meaſures, for raiſing thoſe ſtaple commodities which ſhe purchaſes from foreigners, the ſagacious public muſt be convinced, that the opportunity of adding to her annual expences, by paying troops, and maintaining garriſons, to guard a narrow ſlip of barren ſand-hills, and a tract of low grave-yards, is not an equivalent for thoſe valuable improved iſlands our enemies received in exchange for them.

We will now proceed to the Miſſiſippi, and that great extent of territory, which Great Britain alſo owns by exchange; and ſhew the quality of thoſe lands, and how far they may really benefit her, by active and prudent management. As in Florida, ſo to a great diſtance from the ſhore of the gulph, the lands generally conſiſt of burning ſand, and are uninhabitable, or of wet ground, and very unhealthy. But, a little beyond this dreary deſart, are many level ſpots very fertile, and which would ſuit people who are uſed to a low ſituation, and prove very valuable, both to planters, and the inhabitants of a trading town. As the river runs from north to ſouth, the air is exceedingly pure in the high lands of this extenſive tract. The ſoil is generally very rich; and, to the diſtance of ſix hundred miles up, from the low lands of the ſea coaſt, it is as happy a climate as any under heaven, quite free from the extremities of heat and cold. Any product of the ſame clime from 31 to 45 degrees N. L. might be raiſed here in the greateſt perfection, to the great profit of the planter and the public. Many thouſands of us would heartily rejoice to ſee adminiſtration behave as wiſe men—leave their mean, or mad policy, and promote a ſpirit of emigration among the families of the crowded northern colonies. Thus the induſtrious poor in Britain, would find more employ in manufactures; and the public would receive from their brethren, what they now purchaſe chiefly from rival powers with gold and ſilver, with the balance of trade greatly againſt them.

This fine country, Georgiana, invites Great Britain to ſmile upon it, and in return to receive its grateful tribute of tobacco, hemp, ſilk, flax, cotton, indigo, wine and tea, in plenty, beſides many other valuable products. Hops grow wild on the Miſſiſippi—and the tobacco raiſed at the Nahchee old ſettlement, was eſteemed of ſuperior quality to any belonging France. The lands on the extenſive ramifications of the Miſſiſippi lands are capable of producing the like. All kind of vegetables planted, or ſowed in their fields, gardens, and orchards, either for profit or pleaſure, would grow to greater perfection, and with leſs art and labour, in this tract, than any in Europe, ſo fruitful is the ſoil, and favourable the climate. As the ſavages live in a direct line between our northern colonies, and this, to the diſtance of four hundred miles above New Orleans; our northern people will be obliged to make a winding courſe by the Ohio, before they can reach it with their families and neceſſary moveables; which ſhews that it requires public ſpirit, and the ſupport of government to ſettle a flouriſhing colony here. The two Floridas, and this, which to the great loſs of the nation, lie ſhamefully neglected, are the only places in the Britiſh empire, from whence ſhe can receive a ſufficient ſupply of thoſe ſtaples ſhe wants. The proſperity, and even the welfare of Great Britain, depends on ſundry accounts, in a high degree, on improving theſe valuable and dear bought acquiſitions; and we hope her eyes will be opened ſoon, and her hands ſtretched out to do it — ſhe will provide for the neceſſities of her own poor at home, by the very means that would employ a multitude of uſeleſs people in agriculture here, and bring the ſavages into a probable way of being civilized, and becoming chriſtians, by contracting their circle of three thouſand miles, and turning them from a lonely hunt of wild beaſts, to the various good purpoſes of ſociety. Should Great Britain duly exert herſelf as the value of this place requires, by the aſſiſtance of our old Chikkaſah allies, the other Indian nations would be forced to purſue their true intereſt, by living peaceably with us; and be ſoon enticed to become very ſerviceable both to our planters, and the enlargement of trade.

As the Miſſiſippi Indians are not likely to be ſoon corrupted by the haughty ſtiff Spaniards, and are moſtly of a tractable diſpoſition, conſequently they might be civilized, and their wants ſo greatly extended as to demand every kind of Britiſh manufactures, in imitation of their friendly, induſtrious, and opulent neighbours: and, as the ſmall profits of hunting would not be ſufficient to purchaſe a variety of ſuch new neceſſaries, they might be eaſily induced to cultivate thoſe commodities that would beſt anſwer their demands. Raiſing of ſilk, would extremely well agree with them, on account of its eaſy proceſs; mulberry trees grow ſpontaneouſly to a conſiderable height here, and in the low lands through all our ſouthern colonies; which, were they topped, and tranſplanted near to the houſes, would ſerve to feed the ſilk worms with their leaves. The eaſy culture of this valuable commodity, ſilk, would not hinder the planter from attending the inviting products of the field. Thus the Indians would be gently led out of their uncultivated ſtate of nature, and a fair opportunity would be given to diſcreet, ſenſible and pious teachers to inſtruct them in the plain, and eaſy principles of chriſtianity.

The prodigious number of fertile hills lying near ſome of the large ſtreams, and among the numberleſs ſmaller branches of the Miſſiſippi, from 33 to 37 degrees N. L. (and likewiſe in the two Floridas) are as well adapted by nature, for producing different ſorts of wine, as any place whatever. The high lands naturally abound with a variety of wine grapes: if therefore theſe extenſive lands were ſettled, and planters met with due encouragement, Great Britain in a few years might purchaſe here, with her own manufactures, a ſufficient ſupply of as good wines as ſhe buys from her dangerous rival France, at a great diſadvantage of trade, or even from Portugal. The level lands here, as in other countries, are badly watered; which therefore would abſolutely require the colony to be extended ſix hundred miles up the Miſſiſippi, to anſwer the main deſign of ſettling it. The lands in our northern colonies are too much exhauſted to raiſe a ſufficient quantity of hemp for their own conſumption: and indigo does not grow to the north of Cape Fear river, in North Carolina, on account of the coldneſs of the climate. And as it grows only in rich lands, it is liable to be devoured the ſecond year by ſwarms of graſshoppers, and its roots are of ſo penetrating a nature, as not only to impoveriſh the ground, but requires more new fertile land than the planters can allow; ſo that in a ſhort time, that product will ceaſe of courſe in South Carolina, and Georgia. This favourable country will ſupply that growing defect. In the Carolinas, and along the ſea-coaſt to the Miſſiſippi, tea grows ſpontaneouſly; and doubtleſs, if the Eaſt-India tea was tranſplanted into thoſe colonies, it would grow, as well as in the eaſtern regions of the ſame latitude. The chief point conſiſts in curing it well: but foreigners, or experience, would ſoon overcome that difficulty by due encouragement. Some years ago, a gentleman of South Carolina told me he raiſed ſome of the Eaſt-India tea, and it grew extremely well. He ſaid, he had it cured in a copper kettle, well covered, and fixed in a common pot with water, which boiled three hours, was then taken out, and allowed to cool before they opened it; and that when the veſſel was not filled with the leaves, they curled in the ſame manner as the Eaſt-India weed imported at a great loſs of men and money, and better taſted.

I am well acquainted with near two thouſand miles along the American continent, and have frequently been in the remote woods; but the quantity of fertile lands, in all that vaſt ſpace, excluſive of what ought to be added to Eaſt and Weſt-Florida, ſeems to bear only a ſmall proportion to thoſe between the Miſſiſippi and Mobille-river, with its N. W. branches, which run about thirty miles north of the Chikkaſah country, and intermix with pleaſant branches of the great Cheerake river. In ſettling the two Floridas, and the Miſſiſippi-lands, adminiſtration ſhould not ſuffer them to be monopolized—nor the people to be claſſed and treated as ſlaves—Let them have a conſtitutional form of government, the inhabitants will be cheerful, and every thing will be proſperous. The country promiſes to yield as plentiful harveſts of the moſt valuable productions, as can be wiſhed.

There is a number of extenſive and fertile Savannas, or naturally clear land, between the Miſſiſippi and the weſtern branches of Mobille river. They begin about two hundred and fifty miles above the low lands of the coaſt, and are interſperſed with the woods to a great diſtance, probably three hundred miles. The inland parts are unknown to any but the Indians and the Engliſh traders — the warlike Chikkaſah were ſo dreadful to the French, that even their fleet of large trading boats avoided the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſippi, or near this ſhore under a high point of land, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues: ſo that, beyond what they barely ſaw from their boats, their accounts of the interior parts of this extenſive country, are mere conjectures. The ſoil of the clear land, generally conſiſts of looſe rich mould to a conſiderable depth, and either a kind of chalk, or marl, underneath. We frequently find the graſs with its ſeeded tops as high as our heads, when on horſe-back, and very likely it would bear mowing, three or four times in one ſeaſon. As the Indians gather their wild hemp, in ſome of theſe open fertile lands, both it and our hemp would grow to admiration, with moderate tillage: and ſo would tobacco, indigo, cotton, and flax, in perfection. If Great-Britain exerts herſelf in earneſt, with an helping hand to this new colony; granting only for eight years, an equal bounty with that ſhe gave to the bleak and barren ſettlement of Nova Scotia, ſhe would receive at the expiration of that period, in return for her favours, an abundant variety of valuable raw materials, for employing a vaſt multitude of her poor at home, as well as luxurious productions, for her own conſumption, and that of foreigners; greatly increaſe the public revenue; deſtroy the ſale of French wines, and tobacco, the chief ſinews of their ſtate; render herſelf independent of foreign countries—and make millions of people eaſy and happy, on both ſides of the broad water, by mutual induſtry, and reciprocal offices of friendſhip.

If Great Britain thus wiſely improves the natural advantages of North-America, ſhe will ſoon reap ſufficient fruit for her expences of cultivating it: but ſhe muſt certainly be a loſer, in proportion to any unconſtitutional attempt excited by falſe views, againſt the natural rights and chartered privileges of the coloniſts. We now and then ſee the lamentable power that illiberal prejudices and ſelf-intereſt obtain over gentlemen of learning, and judgment, by transforming them from honeſt, wiſe men, into dangerous political incendiaries. Whether the coloniſts are large in their Britiſh imports, or are forced to more domeſtic frugality on account of the late ſevere reſtraints upon their trade, theſe ſophiſts declare them to be rivals in trade, and devote them to deſtruction. The coloniſts however generally proportion their expences to the annual income of their poſſeſſions. If they gain but a little by trade, and labour, they ſpend as little in luxuries. At the very worſt, they can keep the wolf of want from their doors. They are ſo happily ſituated, as to have far leſs real demands for gold and ſilver than any other civilized, increaſing body of people. When they received thoſe metals abroad by their Spaniſh trade, they ſoon remitted them to Great Britain; and they are now quite eaſy, if ſhe chuſes to ſtrike her own pocket very hard, in order to hurt them. Our political phyſicians preſcribe a ſtrange ſort of means and regimen to heal the wounds of the body politic; aſſuredly they will tear them open, and make them bleed freſh again, and more than ever. It is a pity, that before they thought of hunger and phlebotomy for the ſuppoſed unſound Americans, they had not duly conſidered the ſolid reaſonings and unanſwerable arguments of the very worthy, upright patriot, John Dickenſon, Eſq; and other American gentlemen, and the ſpeeches and publications of ſome patriots at home. Smollett's obſervations are alſo very pertinent—" The natives of New-England acquired great glory from the ſucceſs of this enterprize againſt Louiſbourg. Britain, which had in ſome inſtances behaved like a ſtepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated thoſe as brethren whom ſhe had too long conſidered as aliens and rivals. Circumſtanced as the nation is, the legiſlature cannot too tenderly cheriſh the intereſts of the Britiſh plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, induſtrious people, animated with an active ſpirit of commerce, inſpired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impoſitions, has for ſome time languiſhed in many valuable branches. The French have underſold our cloths, and ſpoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer ſupplied as uſual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany muſt be conſiderably diminiſhed by the miſunderſtanding between Great Britain and the houſe of Auſtria;—conſequently her greateſt reſource muſt be in her communication with her own colonies, which conſume her manufactures, and make immenſe returns in ſugar, rum, tobacco, fiſh, timber, naval ſtores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The ſouthern plantations likewiſe produce ſilk; and with due encouragement might furniſh every thing that could be expected from the moſt fertile ſoil and the happieſt climate. The continent of North America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhauſtible fund of wealth and ſtrength to Great Britain; and perhaps it may become the laſt aſylum of Britiſh liberty, when the nation is enſlaved by domeſtic deſpotiſm or foreign dominion; when her ſubſtance is waſted, her ſpirit broke, and the laws and conſtitution of England are no more: then thoſe colonies ſent off by our fathers may receive and entertain their ſons as hapleſs exiles and ruined refugees."*

Evil-minded writers depreciate thoſe Americans moſt, who ſtand moſt in their way. Could their enemies ſubjugate them, they might then put their hands in their pockets with impunity, uſe ſcorpion-whips on their backs at pleaſure, and eſtabliſh the moſt delicious part of the Jewiſh law, tithes, through the whole continent.

The preſent Quixote ſcheme evidently ſeems to fetter the Britiſh Americans, at all events, and force them to pay for their fetters; to compel them to maintain a great body of imperious red coats to rule over them, after the manner of the miſerable ſons of Hibernia, without allowing them any militia, even on their barriers: otherwiſe our rulers think that, about twenty years hence, the quick increaſe of the Britiſh Americans, will render the execution of their ſcheme impracticable. Rather than let them be free and happy, they are for reducing them, in effect, to poverty and a ſtate of ſlavery. However, if they conjure right, and even allowing them that ſucceſs they pine for, it cannot well be ſuppoſed that ſuch vaſt multitudes of Britiſh ſubjects would be ſo inured to ſlavery, in the ſhort ſpace of twenty years, but that they would cut off their chains, and ſet themſelves free. Some ſtateſmen have ſhewn themſelves to be no leſs ſtrangers to the generous principles of the conſtitution, and feelings of humanity, than they are to the extraordinary martial abilities of the American provincials, eſpecially in the woods, which are continued almoſt through all our colonies, and would prove a grave-yard to a great army of regular troops. Tame Frenchmen might ſubmit to the yoke intended—But Britons, of revolution-principles, eſpecially the Americans, contemn it and all its ſupporters, far beyond the power of language to expreſs. Were they impoveriſhed, and ſubjugated, their own bravery would ſoon ſet them free from tyranny. When ſufferings become ſharp, brave men always make deſperate efforts, in proportion to their pain. And the annals of the world uniformly declare, that no enemies are ſo deſperate and bitter, as deſpiſed, abuſed, and perſecuted friends.

They who are in the leaſt acquainted with the principles of our coloniſts, can truly teſtify their univerſal attachment to the preſent line of Brunſwick; and that their hearts are faithful to the real honour and beſt intereſt of their king and country, whoſe intereſts cannot be divided. And we hope, that they who have the chief direction of public affairs, will ſoon cheriſh that diſpoſition, ſo peculiar to free-minded Britons; and that condign puniſhment will be inflicted on thoſe who endeavour to check it, and to foment a civil war. Thus, a profitable intercourſe, a laſting peace, and perpetual friendſhip, will continue between the honeſt parent and her grateful colonies, who will not fail to be juſt to her, to themſelves, and to their poſterity.

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